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The epic of 38 years

From Sun Yat-sen to the Chinese People's Republic

By Agnes Smedley

THIRTY-EIGHT years ago today, on Oct. 10, 1911, the first Chinese Republic was established. And now in Peking Madame Sun Yat-sen, widow of the father and first President of the 1911 Chinese Republic, has stood before the assembly of patriots of every class and station that founded the Chinese People's Republic and stated its objectives in these words:

"Let us devote ourselves to the struggle to prevent the destruction of civilization and to guarantee the enjoyment of life by every person in the world. We shall never stop working until every cottage is rebuilt into a comfortable home, until produce flows freely over the good earth, until profits of factories are fairly distributed. We shall not attain our goal until these necessities are available to all people alike, regardless of race, color, belief and areas."

Such are the goals of China today—the land that our own and Chinese reactionaries tried to make a major battleground in a third World War. The victories of the Chinese revolution have already tipped the scales of history.

38 YEARS OF STUPIDITY: To prevent our people from understanding what has happened, the U.S. press and radio and government spokesmen describe the People's Republic as a calamity. If we recognize it, they tell us quite baldly, we will do so only with the intention of destroying it from within. In any case we will only recognize it after it agrees to assume all responsibilities of its predecessor. Its predecessor, Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang dictatorship, was a quisling regime that would sign anything for American money.

Our policy and propaganda on China sound like a worn-out phonograph record of 1911 vintage. A study of newspapers of that period reveals the startling fact that our press and government received the 1911 revolution exactly as they are receiving the new China of 1949.

Only the names, dates, and terms of opprobrium have changed. Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his followers were referred to as "crackpots, cranks, soreheads, Cantonese theorists, impractical visionaries, and disappointed office-seekers."

THE BANKS & DR. SUN: In 1911 also, our own and other foreign governments, together with the great banking corporations which had forced—and were continuing to force—loans on China, refused to recognize the new Republic unless it assumed responsibility for all treaties and agreements entered into by its predecessor. That predecessor — the decrepit and corrupt Manchu dynasty— had, like the Kuomintang regime, existed by the grace and money-bags of foreign imperialism.

Because Dr. Sun Yat-sen was an incorruptible patriot and a revolutionary democrat, foreign bankers and governments forced him to resign as President in favor of their own chosen "strong man" who, within the next four years, destroyed the Republic and proclaimed himself Emperor. He was overthrown by the Chinese people in the 1915-16 revolution.

This process of aborting the Chinese Revolution was repeated time and again from 1911 onward. Today our government plans to repeat history, if possible, though history never repeats itself exactly.

THEY WON'T BE MOVED: Chinese revolutionists of 1949 have learned from history. Mao Tze-tung, Chairman of the new Chinese People's Republic, has repeatedly written words that are now engraved on the hearts of the new China: that the Chinese people have carried on a bloody struggle for liberation for 100 years but were beaten down time and again. Yet they repeatedly arose and "prevented the whole of China from being over-run by imperialism. The Chinese people will not be subdued."

The Chinese People's Liberation Army and the new People's Republic are the spiritual heirs of 100 years of bloody struggle. Older leaders of the government, including Chairman Mao and General Chu Teh, commander-in-chief of the army, actually fought in the 1911 revolution and in every liberation struggle from that time to the present day.

Tens of thousands of others in the Liberation Army were among the founders of the old Chinese Red Army, organized by Mao and Chu Teh following Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal of the Revolution in 1927. That army fought in south China for the next eight years, always organizing, arming, and educating the peasants and workers, and introducing the first democratic institutions among the common people — including civil rights and equal suffrage.

22-YEAR EPIC: In October, 1934, the Chinese Red Army made the epic Long March to the northwest, to get astride the route of advance of Japanese imperialism which had begun the conquest of China three years before. One hundred thousand men left south China, fought almost every step of the way over 10,000 miles,

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Vito Marcantonio
The slogan is: Make Marc Mayor! (See pages 7-10)

What's happened to the CIO?

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THE MAILBAG

Why swallow rubbish?

BARBERTON, OHIO

If the American working man would show enough interest in his economics and politics to educate himself by subscribing to some good progressive magazine instead of swallowing the rubbish put out by the Associated Press and United Press, conditions would not be what they are today in this great land of the free and the home of the brave.

It is appalling, the blessed indifference the average American shows toward the things that control his very own destiny! My regards to the many friends I made in Philadelphia as labor delegate to the Wallace Convention last summer. **Joe Overholt**

•

The atom is ours!

NEW YORK, N. Y.

This is my season's greeting to the non-obsolete of the atomic age. The atom is a mighty symbol, a complete universe, with power to create or destroy. It was released to function by the genius of many minds working in concert.

We, the citizens of the world, the fissioned and processed materiel, demand the same genius, the same unison in planning the survival of the species.

We declare:

1. The atom is common property.
2. Experimentation is common ground.
3. The atom is a gift of science to the world. It must be used in laying the foundation for a safe and tenable civilization.

Dorothy Butler Howells

•

But did we learn?

WEATHERFORD, OKLA.

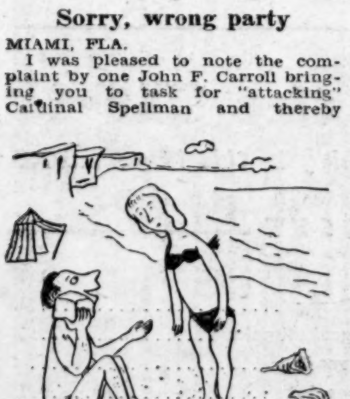
Hitler taught us a lesson—maybe. We adopted his style of propaganda, his method of eliminating minor parties, throwing all thinkers in concentration camps, or liquidating them. The frenzied mob at Peekskill is all the proof we need of "our way of life." The propaganda machine has created a monster that may well destroy its creator. **A. C. Sauer**

•

Sorry, wrong party

MIAMI, FLA.

I was pleased to note the complaint by one John F. Carroll bringing you to task for "attacking" Cardinal Spellman and thereby compelling Carroll to resign from the Progressive Party, ho, hum. Cardinal Spellman had overstepped his propriety when he so viciously attacked Mrs. Roosevelt and had his ears properly pinned back by some mighty fine followers of the Catholic faith. Carroll should look up the definition of "progressive" and he will find that with his sentiments he simply joined the wrong outfit, for he lacks the courage of his convictions. Good riddance and now he is no longer a dupe. **Francis Kromar**



Action, Paris

HOMESICKNESS

"I carry a paving block to hear the murmurs of the city."

•

With love

MILL VALLEY, CALIF.

Your paper (I mean **ours**) is the only thing alive in America today which both makes sense and reads good. **Helen Hosmer**

•

The censorial Times

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I was one of the original two people who complained by mail about the Macy ban on Paul Blanshard's **American Freedom and Catholic Power.** Salesgirls tell me that until it was removed from display it was Macy's No. 2 nonfiction best seller. Demand is still so great that Macy's now stocks the book in its shipping department and the salesgirls can promise one-day delivery on it. They're still too stubborn to place it on display again.

More interesting is the action of the N. Y. **Times,** which would accept no advertising for the book, nor even list it as a "new book published." On May 4, a mention of it slipped into an ad. The **Times** apologized: "This was inadvertent. It was overlooked by a clerk in the publication office and constituted a lapse. . . ."

I had a long correspondence with publisher Arthur Hays Sulzberger. When I pointed out that the **Times** has no hesitation in accepting ads on behalf of the opposite side of this "controversial subject" (as he called it), Mr. Sulzberger's correspondence with me came to a sudden halt.

Macy's has at least a fraction of a right to sell or not to sell—if they want to be damned fools, that's their affair and an affair of their pocketbook. (I now shop Gimbel's.) I am more concerned with the **Times'** policy of censorship—of taking sides in what they admit is a "controversial" subject. They are more responsible to the public, are granted special privileges such as second class mailing, etc., that cost the public money. Their obligation and responsibility to readers is greater—but they show as little concern about it as a Hearst slime sheet. **Lyle Stuart**

•

"Poor" Gov. Stevenson

CHICAGO, ILL.

The recent letter from Robert Houlder referring to the plight of "liberal" Gov. Stevenson would be acceptable if it correctly stated the events that led to the inhuman cut of 10% in relief benefits.

Rising unemployment has caused a sharp increase in the case load of the Illinois Public Aid Commission. The commission foresaw that if this increase were to be properly handled the IPAC would run out of funds long before the next session of the legislature. The Governor was faced with four possible courses.

Unfortunately for the picture of a liberal governor unable to cope with his legislature, Stevenson chose not even to try. He chose to take what appeared to be the easy way, a 10% cut down the line with no regard for the effect on the lives of thousands of human beings.

I think Stevenson made a grave error as far as his future political life is concerned. Stevenson demonstrates again that the donkey and the elephant are two sides of the same coin. Only a militant third party will afford the people the administration of government in the people's interest. **Wilmer Wolfson**

•

Guardian for Lem

PAGE, ILL.

I haven't got even one friend who doesn't already read the GUARDIAN, but how about accepting my dollar for this Lem A. Davis feller, from Joplin, Mo.? When he gets a job he can buy it for somebody else. I figure to lose my own job very soon. **Henry Johnson**

A similar letter came from Frank Greben of Chicago. Lem Davis is getting his GUARDIAN. Talk about your salt of the earth. Ed.

•

100-year subscription

MASSILLON, OHIO

World Events sent me a couple of copies of your paper. Count me in for the duration. It's about time the decent elements of this country had something to say about running it. Hope it won't be long before your paper has a circulation equal to that of the biggest liars of the commercial press. Then we will get somewhere. I'm just past 70 years young, and only have another 100 years left to fight, but believe you me, I'm going to make good use of it. **F. Bell**

•

To the polls!

KANSAS CITY, MO.

Where, let me ask, is our logical claim to representative government when the expressed will of the people is ignored in the halls of legislation?

Where is adequate old age security? The issue is 40 years of age and we are still told it cannot pass this session. It could have been established in 90 days by a government which has got billions for dear old Europe. There are enough stay-at-home voters to hurry the major parties past resurrection.

This country needs an administration or two in Washington of bona fide Abraham Lincoln. **Fred Hall**

•

Needed: a Gene Debs

SHERMAN, TEX.

My idea is that all war is fought by the masses of the people. The masses do all the fighting, all the paying and the individual does all the collecting. I think it is wrong for the individual to pile up millions off the blood of humanity.

I notice you published Eugene V. Debs' picture. If we had more men like him, I believe we would have a better government. **J. W. Briggs**

•

Don't Gallup

EVELETH, MINN.

You invite comments. The only fault I find is that the GUARDIAN is not a daily. Until it can be, please turn a deaf ear to pleas for material that would lessen the space you have for news. I like your consistent editorial policy. So many editors seem to take a "Gallup" between editions to decide just what is liberal. I am not in the least alarmed when, now and then, I find you expressing ideas a little to the left of the spot where I feel comfortable. After all, do I not have as an antidote any one of the three dailies circulating in this area? I am amused at progressives who are hypercritical of liberal publications but demand of the commercial press only that it carry the best comic strips. **Katharine E. Muff**

•

A word to Lincoln

UPLAND, CALIF.

Tell friend Wallace we Americans **now** want more than just an attempt to make the **old system** (monopoly-imperialism) work. We are tired and discouraged with patching and camouflaging the old capitalist racket and covering it up with red herrings, witch hunts, hate and fascism!

Start taking over our public services and monopolies at least, instead of it remaining "government of the people, by the few, for the few." Lincoln left out one word, the proper reading being "Industry and government of the people, by the people, and for the people." Whoever controls industry controls the government! **Franklin Baxter**

•

Interracial marriages

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Your correspondent to the Mailbag, John Holman, has a peculiar complaint against progressives. It seems to be that they are not marrying each other to make a homogeneous colored race.

As a liberal, broad-minded progressive for well over a score of years I have believed that we were first of all interested in the economic salvation of people and not in their sex lives. If John Holman is interested in sex problems, let him listen to Mr. Alexander and not try to push a wedge between working people to raise the standard of living for all.

As far as Negro-white mixtures are concerned, they will go on willy-nilly. The idea that all Negroes are seeking white wives is what the fascists use as propaganda. When such mixed marriages are desired they can lawfully take place. Whether they are welcomed or not depends upon the sincerity of those concerned.

Mr. Holman, the object of progressives is not to make Negroes pink or white or blue. The object is to properly feed, clothe, and house a man and a woman, regardless of color. **Felix Turnbull**

Report to readers

Vol. 1, No. 52 and the first 100,000

By Cedric Belfrage

A YEAR has passed — and over one hundred thousand people are reading the GUARDIAN every week.

For the little band of newspaper folk who started this project last October with a pocketful of faith, our "Vol. I, No. 52" is an occasion not for mutual back-slapping but for sober thought about what it is that has justified our faith.

Before we started, some people wondered why we called our project the GUARDIAN. It didn't sound "progressive," they thought. We answered that—if they insisted on dissecting a well-established newspaper name with a scalpel—we were going into business in the conviction that we had something to guard. If they wanted to know what that was, we referred them to Tom Paine, Tom Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Abe Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

THE thing we had to guard was the same as the thing in which we had faith: the decent popular tradition of America. Maybe we didn't get around among the plain people of America as much as we'd have liked; but we were ready to bet Uncle Sam's battered headpiece against all the oil in Saudi Arabia that the people hadn't really come down to the narrow, fear- and hate-ridden level that the commercial press implied.

We believed that if we could stay in the ring long enough, telling the truth week by week, a few Americans anyway — maybe a hundred thousand — would not only stay with us but fight for us. Certainly we knew our fate rested in the hands of the people we hoped to serve.

Other publications needed mere "readership" to keep their advertisers happy. We — destined as we were never to receive $5,000 a page to warn America it must choose between bloody anarchy and The Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Co. — would need 100,000 active partners.

NOW we have that many readers, and more. We know, and have sought to acknowledge adequately, what a marvelous job thousands of them have done. Their active partnership has made a difference for us that is not without importance: the difference between death and life for our journalistic infant.

These partners write to us about how the GUARDIAN is faring in their area — about what we can do to serve the people better and win more readers. They criticize us by a high standard which only one who felt himself to be a partner would apply. Often they write on the margins of newspaper clippings or on pages torn from notebooks, because they are too busy to be formal.

But they aren't too busy to think of their paper every time they meet new people who should be getting it. Steadily, week after week, they send us in batches of dollar bills and "bill me" names — each one representing a new member of the family.

Across the hundreds or thousands of miles separating them from us, they understand that the tie binding us to them and them to us is a two-way lifeline. The people need the truth — someone must proclaim it — nothing must stop them proclaiming it.

IF THAT is the way it looks to you, then join the ranks of the GUARDIAN's partner-readers. It doesn't mean giving any extra time. All it means is that you don't let any potential subscriber out of your sight until he's signed up.

With a hundred thousand partners signing up their friends and fellow-workers by fives, tens and twenties, the GUARDIAN would have a million-strong family by Hallowe'en. When witches ride, it's good to belong to a family of a million.

What's happened to the CIO?

It s leaders are betraying its founding faith—and FDR

By C. W. Fowler

THE 54th convention of the American Federation of Labor was over. For the 54th time the top leaders of that organization had turned thumbs down on organizing America's 30,000,000 unorganized industrial workers. Bill Hutchinson of the Carpenters Union had scoffed at the unorganized as "small potatoes," at John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers as a "big bastard." Lewis had floored him with one punch.

And then, on Nov. 9, 1935, eight presidents of eight AFL unions, headed by John L. Lewis, met formally in Washington, D. C., to form a Committee for Industrial Organization.

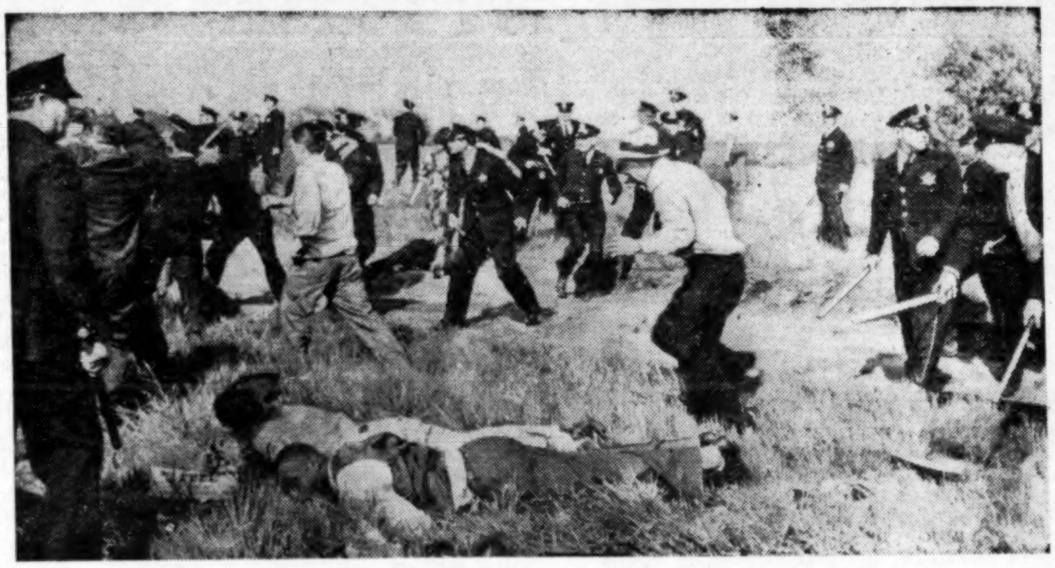
Out of their discussion came a monumental achievement: formation of the present 7,000,000-member CIO. But today what they built is being threatened at the foundations.

The sound principles and militant policies that made the CIO great are being resisted, violated, betrayed. The evils of the old AFL, against which the original eight banded together, are now being practiced by the top leaders of the CIO. What has brought the change?

OUT OF TRAVAIL: To answer this question it is necessary to review the turbulent formation of the CIO, of which a host of young rank-and-filers know little or nothing.

It is necessary to be reminded of the powerful forces behind the mass upheaval of the middle thirties, which enabled the CIO to grow from an idea in 1935 to 4,000,000 members by 1937. In that brief period most of the biggest of U. S. industrial giants had been forced to sign union contracts for the first time in history.

On Labor Day, 1937, John L. Lewis was able to say: "Out of the agony and travail of economic America the Committee for Industrial Organization was born. To millions of Americans, exploited without stint by corporate industry and socially debased beyond the understanding of the fortunate, its coming was as welcome as the dawn to the night watcher."



The Memorial Day Massacre

On May 30, 1937, Chicago police murdered 10 workers of the Republic Steel Co. demonstrating near the Republic plant. Eight of the men were shot in the back. It was events like these that welded the CIO into a fighting unit — then.

THE MARTYRS: As welcome, but not as peaceful as the dawn, was its coming.

Uncounted thousands of American working people sacrificed, fought, bled and died to build the CIO. In scores of cities and dozens of industries the job was done against company blacklisting, company spies, company thugs, police, jails, clubs, tear-gas and bullets.

In San Francisco two striking CIO longshoremen were murdered. In drab little Ohio steel towns CIO strikers were tear-gassed, clubbed and shot at. In Chicago on Memorial Day, 1937, cops killed 10 CIO steel strikers; eight of them were shot in the back.

Through all of industrial America there was blood and violence against the CIO when it first set out to tame the monopolies.

A DOOR OPENS: But there was another force in the land. Three years before the CIO was formed, a man stood up in the Democratic Party's national convention in Chicago and said: "I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people."

Haltingly, imperfectly, with many fumbling mistakes, that New Deal came to the American people. By the time the CIO drive was ready to be launched, there was already the famed Section 7-A of the old National Recovery Act, the first drastic measure of the first administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The clause gave legal protection to labor's right to organize and bargain collectively. It was a crack in the door of industrial America. The CIO kicked it open from there.

EACH FOR ALL: The CIO's earliest, greatest principles were unity and militancy. It stood for unity of all labor, for unity of labor with the farmers, for unity of all the divergent forces in American progressive movements.

As the New Deal under Franklin D. Roosevelt developed, it too promoted this unity. In time there came into being a loose but cohesive alliance—in which the CIO was a driving force—that made the New Deal era the most progressive in modern U. S. history. In those years more social gains and more social legislation were achieved than in any other comparable period.

CIO's early struggles were helped by the New Deal Senate Civil Liberties Committee which, under Sen. Robert La-Follette, went through the country to expose and clean up the whole system of industrial spies and company thugs.

It was helped in Michigan by New Deal Gov. Frank Murphy, who steadfastly refused to use force or violence against auto industry sit-down strikers.

It was helped most of all by the enactment of the Wagner Act. A New Deal monument, that was the greatest piece of labor legislation ever adopted by a U. S. Congress.

WHOSE WILL? Because the CIO was a militant, rank-and-file organization based on the will of its members, because it was loyal to its own ideals which coincided with the best principles of the New Deal, it became great and labor prospered.

Its own aims in those days were simply stated: "No more and no less than what is desired by the majority of American working people. For it is a democratic organization designed to express the will of its members and to win for labor the place which it seeks and to which it is entitled in American democracy."

Those aims today are being abandoned. The will of the members is being replaced by the will of a ruling clique. The democracy of the early CIO is being replaced by autocratic control. The militancy is being replaced by subservience to corporate industry.

Loyalty to New Deal principles has given way to support of the Truman cold war. Where once the CIO fought for and won the Wagner Act, there is now surrender to the Taft-Hartley Law.

BACK TO THE JUNGLE? Fourteen years ago the eight founding unions of the CIO faced expulsion from the AFL. Today 11 CIO unions holding firm to the original ideals are threatened with expulsion.

The words of John L. Lewis to the 1937 conference of the CIO might well be pondered today. He was referring to the AFL policy then to split the labor movement: ". . . Let us see whether in the American labor movement reason can prevail or whether after all the labor movement in this country has to resort to the law of the jungle, the tooth and the fang, in order to justify and ensure its existence."

NEXT WEEK: How the decline of U.S. foreign policy has broken CIO's strength.

Agnes Smedley

From Sun Yat-sen to the new Republic

(Continued from page 1)

crossed great rivers and mountain ranges covered with eternal snow. One year later they emerged in the northwest with 40,000 survivors to begin the war of national and racial survival.

These 40,000 veterans became the iron core of the 8th Route Army. Another 11,000 Red guerrillas from south China became the core of the New 4th Army. Together these two armies fought the Japanese for eight long years.

THE NEW DAY: During the second World War, Chiang Kai-shek tried to starve these revolutionary armies to death by a military blockade while the Japanese decimated them on the battlefield. Instead of letting themselves be starved and decimated, they rooted themselves in the common people and developed the greatest production and study movement in human history. Into vast areas inhabited by 100,000,000 people they introduced democratic institutions, industrial and consumer cooperatives, and schools of every variety.

In infinite patience they educated their people in general, cultural, political and military subjects. When the second World War ended they had over 1,000,000 regular troops and 3,000,000 civilian "Minute Men." When Chiang Kai-shek, abetted and supported by America, began the civil war to keep his dictatorship in power, U. S. and Chinese reactionaries happily declared that the "dread Chinese Reds" would be exterminated within six months.

THE NEW PEOPLE: Last January uncomprehending correspondents and other foreigners saw the finest army in Chinese history—an army equipped with American weapons captured in battle—march into the ancient capital, Peking, in solemn and disciplined ranks like men approaching a holy shrine.

When this army later occupied Shanghai, bastion of foreign imperialism for 100 years, its exhausted, mud-covered troops did not even occupy empty houses. They slept in long exhausted columns along the cement pavements of that cruel city.

"Fanatics," our press calls this dedicated army. Now they are moving against Canton, one of the few remaining strongholds of Chinese and foreign reaction, while a Kuomintang UN delegate defames his people and nation by declaring that the Chinese Revolution is the creation of the Soviet Union.

AGNES SMEDLEY, author of four books on China (the last: Battle Hymn of China)*, is now completing another. She spent 12 years in China as a newspaper correspondent.*

"The finest in China's history"

Equipped with American arms (captured) these soldiers of China's army of liberation marched into Peking last winter. They were quiet, even solemn — impressed with the destiny they carried with them.

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

THE WORLD

Giant-killers scheme to foil peace threat

MANY of those who habitually eat well and sleep soundly had a nightmare in common last week. It included a Chinese giant, a red bomb bursting and what looked like a pound note, a franc or a lira shrinking and shriveling while angry men clutched at it.

In broad daylight they found the specters still there. And those whose job it was to tackle specters wrestled with them in various ways.

Faced with the great new People's Republic of China, diplomats looked for little neighbors of the giant who might be bribed to harry him or pick his pockets. Congress had appropriated money for the purpose.

INTEGRATE: Many thought they had the answer to the Russian bomb and all the answers were different.

Defense ministers of 12 Atlantic Pact nations gathered in Washington, dined in the Pentagon, laid wreaths on the tomb of the unknown soldier. Their object was to "integrate European defense" before receiving $1,000,000,000 in military aid. Among the problems they were said to be considering was how to coordinate the delivery of weapons so that "a load of tanks does not arrive without any radios." On Thursday, the President signed two bills that would give anti-communists Marshall Plan aid and more arms "to strengthen the peace of the world."

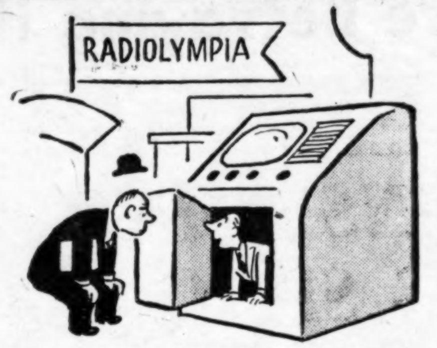
BERNARD BARUCH
A voice out of the past

STAND BY: Elder statesman Bernard Baruch warned that "merely to outlaw the atomic bomb is no insurance against atomic destruction." On the contrary, he said the U.S. must make more and more atom bombs to maintain "an overwhelming" lead. And a stand-by mobilization program must be enacted. All, he concluded, was "for the sake of peace."

CALL CONFUCIUS: Ferris Booth, former vice-president of the Guaranty Trust Co., paid almost $2,000 for two columns in the New York **Times** to deliver this message: "God is the only defense against the atomic bomb." To confront the giant he urged "steps to bolster and aggressively aid Confucianism in China as a balwark against communism." He had worked on the plan for months in his suite at the Pierre Hotel in New York, and chosen Oct. 3 to release the scheme because the date might be written 10/3 and 13 was his lucky number.

CALL OUT THE NAVY: Capt. John G. Crommelin, impressed by the bomb's menace, huddled with reporters in a dim-lit corridor of an office building in downtown Washington. He warned emphatically that his name must never be disclosed, then gave them copies of documents signed by high naval authorities. The papers recorded the views of officers who "have faith in the Navy and a knowledge of the aggressive role it plays in the defense of the country." These admirals and vice-admirals said the Navy "had been stripped of its offensive power"; that morale had sunk "almost to despondency."

Before the week was out Captain Crommelin revealed his identity. Secretary of the Navy Matthews suspended him and confined him to Washington. A court martial seemed indicated, but diehard Navy partisans struggling for appropriations with ambitious air force and army brass looked on him as a martyr. The House Armed Services Committee opened hearings on the wrangle. The Navy has resisted unification with the other armed services and particularly resents the notion that in the grave military crisis the Air Force should have all the heavy bombers and the lush sums of money that go with them.



Daily Worker, London

"The latest model, sir . . . radio, television, phonograph and atom bomb shelter!"

MAKE BUSINESS SAFE: Commercially-minded statesmen battled another specter: The capitalist economy of western Europe was collapsing into unemployment, inflation and chaos; economists predicted a sharper U.S. slump in the spring; revolt was spreading in the colonies. Some people advised that "suitable climates" be set up all over the world for U.S. investments. The House Banking and Currency Committee approved a bill which would put up U.S. taxpayers' funds to guarantee such investments through the Export-Import Bank.

CHINA

Recognition—when?

"OUR nation will never be an insulted nation again. History will say the Chinese, forming one-quarter of mankind, have from this moment stood up," said Mao Tze-tung, President of the People's Republic of China.

The New China was proclaimed in advance of the double-ten (October 10) anniversary of that earlier Chinese republic founded by Sun Yat-sen in 1911. Dr. Sun's widow took office as a Vice President of the new China.

U.S. GO-SLOW POLICY: Chou En-lai, Communist Premier and Foreign Minister, last week sent notes to major powers suggesting recognition of the new government. The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia were among the first to grant it. Britain hoped to—desperately wanting and needing the return on her Chinese business investments—but the U.S. hung back. "Consultation" was the word in Washington.

(The U.S. recognized Franco one day after he proclaimed his state in Spain; Dictator Trujillo of the Dominican Republic got recognition at once; Russia wasn't recognized for 15 years.)

FACTS AND FANCY: From Shanghai, GUARDIAN's Peter Townsend wrote that the facts didn't fit the "Voice of America" broadcasts about hunger, soaring prices, "breaking-up of the family" and worker mobs endangering foreigners' lives. The Kuomintang blockade proved more serious than expected, but in recent weeks the flow of cotton and foodstuffs has increased, the price of rice has declined, and the black market is under control. "It is remarkable," Townsend wrote, "how much the discontent is confined to the old 'Shanghai type' compradore and business man."

CHOU EN-LAI
A knock at the door

BRITAIN

Devaluation chills set in

BRITISH Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, bidding for the dollars of the tourist trade, sounded like a barker at a carnival. "It's a grand little country. It has a great tradition. It has character and history. It can provide wonderful enjoyment," he said in the New York offices of the British Travel Association.

Traditional enjoyments there were, but one attraction was untouted: the Adolph Hitler Memorial Institute, recently established in London according to the London **Daily Mirror.**

In London Sir Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists last week celebrated its 17th anniversary. A scheduled parade and a counter-demonstration by anti-fascists were called off when

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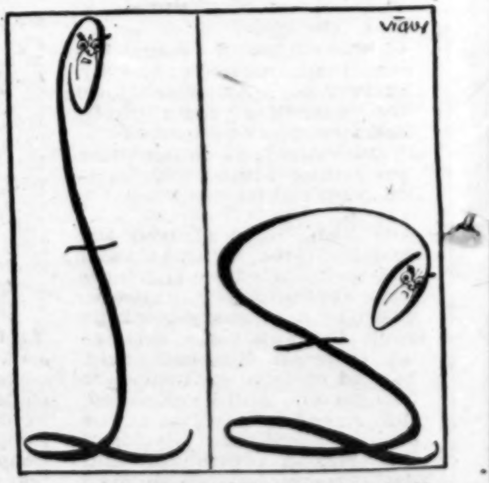


News Chronicle, London

Before **After**

Max Werner

Soviet A-Bomb sends West scurrying for new strategy

AS the answer to the challenge of the Soviet atomic bomb, American super-rearmament is being recommended. Yet an indiscriminate super-rearmament riding in all directions would be simply useless. An atomic bomb does not hit the adversary's atomic bomb. It is air defense which must parry atomic attack.

Adequate aid to Europe is being requested, with a military aid program carried out in two years instead of five. Yet nobody seems to know exactly what this adequate aid should be, **and who should provide the soldiers.**

The atomic bomb was largely overestimated as long as it was an American monopoly. It is being somewhat underestimated now that it has become a Soviet weapon. The bomb can knock out territories, with limited natural resources and relatively small, lying a short distance from the centers of atomic power; areas having a concentration of industry, transportation and population. Such countries are Great Britain and France, Western Germany, Italy and Japan, too.

LAND POWER VITAL: On the other hand, China, with its immense spaces and dispersed population **can** absorb an atomic attack. Almost independent from modern industry and transportation, China can still survive and keep fighting.

Thus the Soviet ally is invulnerable against the atomic bomb, but the U.S. allies are **most** vulnerable. Give atomic bombs to Great Britain and France, let them produce atomic weapons in quantity, still their super-weapons will not be decisive against the Soviet Union. But Soviet atomic weapons are decisive against western Europe.

This is all the more so, since in the new Soviet military structure the atomic bomb is added to massive land power. The Atlantic Pact could be restored only under two conditions:

1) If the U.S. gave western Europe the ability and readiness to absorb the terrific toll of atomic war; and

2) If the U.S. provided with American power the **entire** land defense of western Europe.

THE SICK DWARFS: Yet even our technology cannot provide western Europe with atomic security; and certainly the vague obligations of the Atlantic Pact will not produce an American mass army ready to cover western Europe practically without allies. It is improbable that any American general will recommend a peacetime U.S. army of some 100 divisions, and that an American Senate would vote appropriations for it.

The air-atomic strategy of yesterday combined adventurousness with wrong planning, and political dangers with militarily ineffectiveness. Now, facing new facts, no overall revision has yet started. But there is already a dangerous tendency to seek short-cuts, with an eye on the military possibilities of Franco and Western Germany.

It is of course an absurd idea that those sick dwarfs can redress the balance of power among the giants. Aptly, the conservative **U.S. News** presented the Franco Army a year ago as a barefooted congerie of potential deserters. The broken remnants of Hitler's Wehrmacht can offer even less.

(Continued from preceding page)

Home Secretary James Chuter Ede banned all political parades for three months. Anti-Semitic incidents were on the increase.

DEVALUATION DOUBTS: Bevin journeyed to Ottawa and hurled still more defiance at the Russians, whom he accused of believing that "slumps are inevitable and will be our undoing." But he declared: "We are not going to have slumps."

One thousand British shipyard workers were dismissed over the weekend at the Tyneside repair yard. British shipping experts predicted unemployment would grow rapidly as a result of increasing competition from German yards, which are undercutting their rivals as much as 50%.

The **Wall St. Journal** diagnosed Britain's troubles as "devaluation doubts." Silver-plated forks and spoons jumped 15% in price. With the sterling price of copper up 44%, prices of domestic utensils started climbing. Britons anxiously watched their government's efforts to combat Argentina's move to raise meat prices to Britain by 49%. Argentine meat provides 40% of Britain's scanty meat ration.

Some U.S. papers interpreted cheery official pronouncements as first shots in a campaign to be followed by an early general election.

ANEURIN BEVAN
Is that you or us, Winston?

GUARDIAN correspondent Konni Zilliacus, MP recently expelled from the Labor Party, reported:

"Both parties desire a General Election before the big black crow of rising prices swoops down on the working class and wakes up the workers to the scattering and confusion of Tweedledum and Tweedledee. The general belief is that for a period estimated at from two to five months the short term advantage of devaluation will outweigh its long-range disadvantages."

BRITISH DIXIEGOPS: In Parliament the Labor Party's most eloquent spokesman, Health Minister Aneurin Bevan, widely rumored as Attlee's successor, belabored Winston Churchill and the Conservatives.

"But all the shadow fighting between Labor and Conservatives," Zilliacus reported, "and even the fireworks of Churchill and Bevan which we all enjoyed, failed to conceal the wide measure of agreement between the two. Both held that devaluation was inevitable and there was no alternative. But Labor backbenchers plainly showed their uneasiness. They were docile in voting but critical in speech. Every Labor backbencher who spoke demanded a cut in arms expenditure and warned the government of trouble if it asked for more arms."

When Zilliacus announced he would stand as a Labor Independent in Gateshead, almost all leading members of the local Labor organization gave him their support. Many waived their party membership; others, including the Party's local chairman, resigned.

How abaht it, Ern?

1931: Tories, seeking to embarrass Labor government in England, charge that Soviet Union practices slave labor. Laborite Foreign Secretary Arthur Henderson produces the "Corrective Labor Code" of the Soviet Union to disprove charges of slavery.

1936: Same code is published by London firm specializing in legal subjects. Law journals comment on the humane prison methods it reveals.

1949: Laborite Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin produces same code to prove charges of slave labor in Russia. Newspapers go to town.

Paris: The threat of peace

On International Peace Day hundreds of French women marched on the War Ministry to demand the recall of French soldiers in Viet-Nam fighting native forces seeking their freedom. A cordon of gendarmes stopped their march with brutal force; but they couldn't stop the growing clamor of the French people to halt all bloodshed.

FRANCE

Government falls — as labor unites

IN the presidential palace at Rambouillet, 30 miles from Paris, Premier Henri Queuille last week handed in his resignation. President Vincent Auriol, himself aging and in poor health, wearily looked about him for another premier, another cabinet to steer its way through France's collapsing economy. Queuille, with his weak middle-road coalition which no-one believed representative, had chalked up a post-war record for French premiers: 13 months.

Immediate cause of the cabinet's fall was the final, reluctant refusal of the Socialist Party to go along with Queuille's wage freeze, and the growing unity of the French working class in the face of deepening economic crisis.

MARSHALLITIS: Since June, French labor—split among the Communist-led General Confederation of Labor (CGT), the Socialist-led Workers Force (FO) and the Catholic Federation of Christian Workers (CGTC)—has seen increasingly eye to eye on the wage freeze. The average worker produces 22% more than he did in 1946, but real wages have dropped over 40% below the pre-war average.

According to an American ECA study, 70% of all personal income taxes in 1947 came from wage earners "while corporate income taxes were negligible." Ninety percent of workers re-

(Continued on following page)

Yours for a million readers . . . It'll come true if you send new subs in.

This is eastern Germany

Production up, prices down—and everyone gets the same deal

By Cmdr. Edgar P. Young, R.N.
LONDON

WHILE visiting in the Soviet Zone of Germany recently, I heard a British colleague sympathize with a German woman about the hard conditions "the poor Germans" had to endure under Soviet occupation. He was amazed when she retorted: "In many other countries people had to put up with far harder conditions under our occupation."

"I've never before met a German who talked like that," my friend said. "Are there many like you?" "In our zone," came her answer, "you'll find quite a number—and in your zone, too, but perhaps you don't encourage them to speak out."

NATURAL TALK: It was significant that she spoke naturally of "our" zone and, to an Englishman, of "your" zone. The significance lies in the fact, of which I found ample evidence during three weeks of travel, that the eastern zone, although occupied by the Russians, is definitely owned and operated by the Germans.

One can't get around this fact by pretending that the Germans are "puppets." After the surrender, with the backing of Soviet authority of the same kind pledged to all anti-Nazis by all the Allied powers in the Yalta declaration, the eastern Germans destroyed the economic foundations of anti-democratic elements. Today, having won popular support by popular measures, they do not behave as "puppets,"—nor are they treated as such by Soviet representatives.

CONDITIONS BETTER: Living conditions are hard, but discontent is tempered by the realization that they are the same for everyone, and by signs of steady improvement. Production is increasing and prices have been reduced. Trade-union leaders are able to use their positions to boost productivity and earning power and prevent a return to former conditions.

There is no doubt that the war potential has been eliminated in the eastern German economy. A four-power occupation mission in January, 1947, signed a report stating that every war plant had been destroyed.

As for peaceful production, policies and practices differ among various occupying powers. In the east, Soviet policy is to help the German Economic Commission achieve the 1936 level of production by the end of 1950—the goal of the Two-Year Plan. To make this possible, dismantling and plant reparations have been suspended.

RUN BY GERMANS: In return for this concession, the Soviet Union has insisted that "reprieved" enterprises shall temporarily be Soviet enterprises, although run by German managements, and that part of all production be handed over as reparations. The kinds of goods supplied to Russia are determined by agreement with the German Economic Commission; the amounts are diminishing steadily as production rises.

Effect of these policies, buttressed by socialist inducements to workers, has been a healthy increase in production. There is virtually no unemployment.

In concrete terms, this means that the eastern zone represents an expanding market for imported capital goods, consumer items and industrial raw materials; it has a rising supply of manufactured goods to export in payment.

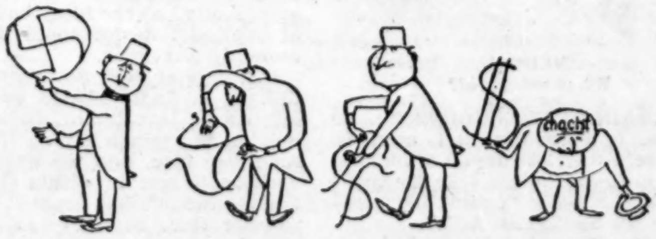
PEACE FOUNDATION: Thus there is a foundation for the restoration of a sound, peaceful and beneficial east-west trade in Germany. Before the war, German foreign trade consisted mainly of raw-material and food imports and exports of manufactured goods. It will soon have resumed that pattern in eastern Germany. But in the west, manufactured goods represented only 22% of exports in 1948 as compared with 79% in 1936.

In order to reverse this situation, resulting from the one-sided Marshall Plan hook-up between the western German zones and the highly industrialized western European countries, the attempt is being made in the west to increase exports of engineering products, in 1948 only 12% of the 1936 level. If the other 88% could be exported eastward, as they used to be, the western zones could obtain many commodities for which they cannot now pay in dollars.

"STRATEGIC" BAN: But that is not allowed—on "strategic" grounds growing out of the cold war. The effect is to force western Germany into competition with western nations which, in turn, are compelled by American policy to compete with the U.S. In such competition, western German business men are led into cost-cutting, wage-cutting and the cycles of unemployment and loss of purchasing power.

Some American business men see far more hopeful prospects for trade in eastern Germany, and beyond. Removal of east-west trade restrictions would extend these prospects in the practical realm.

CMDR. YOUNG is a former Labor Member of Parliament.



Ulenspiegel, Berlin

Schacht, the magician

(Continued from preceding page)

ceive under $22 a week. The FO estimated in 1948 that industrial prices were 21 times above pre-war; the CGT reported that profits of 100 typical corporations are four times higher than in 1946.

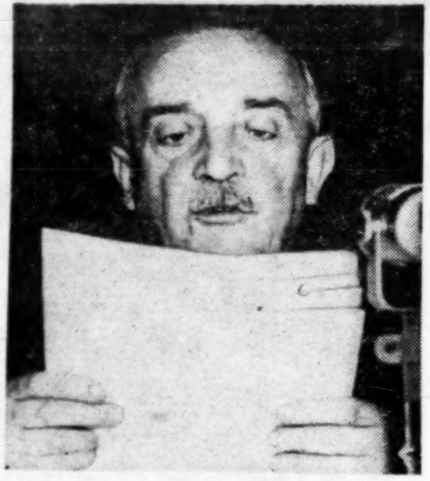
The chemical industry's monthly trade organ **Industrie Chimique** protested that "the mass imports of foreign products bought under the Marshall Plan are glutting the market and bringing about a stoppage of French production." Many Frenchmen recalled the warning uttered by a conservative French senator some months ago: The Economic Cooperation Administration, he said, is orienting French economy to a position "analagous with that . . . of the early months of the (German) occupation."

SIMPLY NOT ENOUGH: Even before devaluation of the franc, the three labor groups were preparing a joint drive to break the wage freeze and force down prices: "It is simply," explained the CGT organ **Syndicalisme,** "that wages . . . are insufficient to assure a normal existence for workers and their families."

Last week all three groups demanded wage hikes, and the anti-Communist FO threatened "insurrectionary strikes" in collaboration with the CGT. The cabinet, strapped to the disastrous cold war and Marshall Plan, could find no solution—and even De Gaulle, who talked of "special measures" in a "national emergency," mocked them.

The Socialist Party had shown itself capable of almost any compromise to keep within the anti-communist coalition. But its members were looking now to the CGT for leadership. It dared not support a wage freeze. Yet it could win no compromise, for the right wing, observing the party's fading strength, prepared to dispense with its services.

MORE VICHY: The right wing was aiming to turn back the clock to Vichy, the wartime regime of Nazi collaboration. Its targets are the Resistance and its heroes. More than 1,000 Resistance fighters are in jail.



HENRI QUEUILLE
Life is so short!

Louis Aragon, world-famous poet and writer, has been deprived of all civil rights including the right to vote. Aragon, editor of the left-wing **Ce Soir,** was found guilty of slander on the basis of the paper's statement that De Gaulle's auxiliary police were used against striking miners last year.

Deportation of foreign progressives has become commonplace. The well-known Brazilian poet, Jorge Amado, is the latest victim. Protests against the Aragon decision are flooding the government.

GERMANY

Re-Nazified West deepens split

WHEN they adjourned in Paris last June the Big Four set themselves three big jobs: bring divided Berlin back to normal; reopen trade between East and West Germany; draft an Austrian peace treaty by Sept 1.

What looked hopeful in the spring looked gloomy last week. Talks on Berlin had broken down; there was no progress on Austria.

LID IS OFF: In Western Germany itself, as the **New Statesman and Nation** reported, "the lid is off and the Nazi fumes rise from the German cauldron." In city streets the old Nazi songs were heard. At Bonn the deliberations of a parliament going through the motions of establishing a republic were marked by a rowdy revival of Nazi slogans.

The Soviet Union sent a note to the Western powers protesting the Bonn government as a violation of the Potsdam agreement of 1945 and the Paris agreement of last spring. The State Dept. replied with a stern denunciation of Soviet policy since the war, accusing Russia of setting up an "oppressive police state" in Eastern Germany. (For an impression of the East Zone by a recent distinguished visitor, see Edgar P. Young, page five.) The U.S. press interpreted the Soviet note as a signal for establishment of a government in the East that would claim to speak for all Germany.

On Friday the German People's Council, hitherto an unofficial forum in the east zone, met in Berlin and voted unanimously to declare itself the lower house of a provisional government of the German Democratic Republic. A president and cabinet were to be named this week. An election for all Germany, east and west, was scheduled for Oct. 15, 1950.

Our German allies

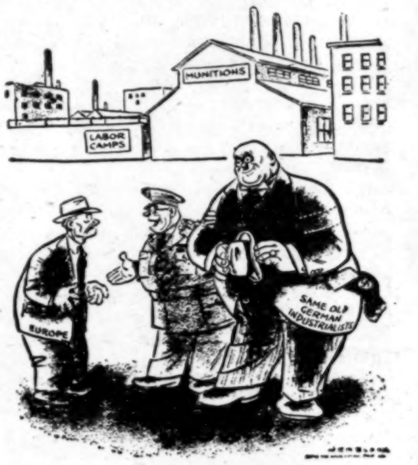
In Washington 44 senators lined up behind the recent demand of the Bonn parliament for an immediate halt to the dismantling program, already emasculated beyond recognition. They objected, they said, to the closing of German steel plants while Marshall Plan funds are used to pay for U.S.-made steel for Europe.

German steel plants are counted upon as an arsenal for the Atlantic Pact. If German steel were not channeled into a vast rearmament program, it would compete with U.S. steel, a danger in the developing buyer's market.

As it is German competition stirred British and French fears anew last week with the 27% devaluation of the mark. France, whose steel industry is already suffering from German competition, insisted in vain on no more than a 20% devaluation.

INVESTIGATE AMG: In Congress, Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) demanded that the House name a special committee to investigate U.S. military control in Germany. He said AMG has sabotaged denazification, demilitarization and decartelization, with a resulting intensification of anti-Semitism in the U.S.

A Western move to bring Western Germany into the UN was disclosed by the N.Y. **Times.** The **Times** reported that the foreign ministers of the U.S., Britain and France, at recent meetings in New York, agreed to bring the Bonn government into the specialized agencies of the UN. "There is, of course," said the **Times,** "no question of trying to bring the West Germans into the United Nations itself: this would undoubtedly be vetoed by the Soviet Union at once. There is, however, no veto in the specialized agencies."



Post, Washington
"But they're so efficient!"

TITO-COMINFORM

State of non-peace

IT'S a "non-peace-loving action," said Yugoslavia. She referred to the Soviet Union's abrogation of their 1945 treaty of friendship. "Non-peace" in the Balkans continued as diplomatic couriers of Cominform Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia delivered abrogations of similar treaties to Marshal Tito's government. (Hungary's was already in.) Poland expelled eight Yugoslav diplomats; Czechoslovakia demanded the recall of Tito's ambassador.

Released from jail where they had languished for pro-Cominform activity, 713 Yugoslavs wired Tito that they had been "morally and politically re-educated." In a major speech concluding army maneuvers, Tito said his people would "die honorably in battle" rather than submit. He denounced the Rajk trial in Budapest, which set off the Cominform treaty abrogations, as a faked spy scare.

PATHFINDER: Meanwhile Jo Davidson, American sculptor who is co-chairman of the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, turned up in Belgrade and set to work on a head of Tito. Commenting on the Zagreb Fair, where he saw over 500 products, most of which were never made before in Yugoslavia, he said: "Your country has taken the right path."

Davidson echoed what other visiting American progressives had said about economic developments in Yugoslavia. In the total context of the socialist countries' economy, into which Yugoslavia had failed to fit itself, it seemed to have become of small importance.

Mr. Nehru goes to Washington

He may find the cupboard bare because he's so shaky at home

By Kumar Goshal

INDIAN Prime Minister Jawharlal is this week's pilgrim to Washington. He has come to ask for money. What has he to offer in return?

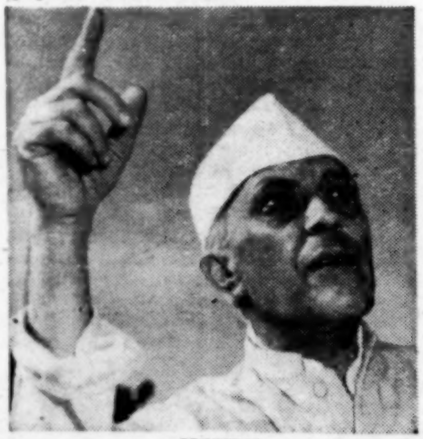
By devaluing the rupee, India hoped to cheapen Indian goods for U.S. buyers. Jute goods accounted for about 60% of India's dollar earnings last year. But with synthetics and substitutes already reducing the market, rupee devaluation has forced jute goods sharply up in price since Pakistan—supplying most of the raw jute for Indian mills—refused to devalue its currency. Indian jute mills, in fact, have been closing their doors one by one.

Devaluation has raised the price of U.S. foodstuffs, $66,000,000 worth of which India imported last year.

WHAT CAPITAL WANTS: Has Nehru been dazzled by President Truman's Point Four formula for developing underdeveloped countries? If so, investigation would show him that U.S. capital has not been waiting for this formula—government guarantee for investment abroad—before venturing into underdeveloped countries. It will go, as it has gone before, to any underdeveloped country offering valuable raw materials, cheap and unorganized labor and a government that is corrupt and for sale. It has been probing for such spots ever since the war.

U.S. capital investment in India has been negligible so far, not because of lack of U.S. government guarantee but because the local political climate has not been favorable. Nehru's government has tried to make the climate favorable by abandoning all pretense of basic-industry nationalization, crushing trade unions, stifling opposition, and by a reign of terror recently condemned by the Indian Civil Liberties Conference.

The lure has not worked—because Nehru's government has failed to crush the spirit of the workers. Instead, it has made itself highly unpopular and unstable.



NEHRU
What am I bid?

"A CERTAIN RESPONSIBILITY": In the U.S. and Britain and even in Africa, cold-warriors dream of making the Indian government take Kuomintang China's place "containing communism in Southeast Asia."

With her large population, India is expected to supply most of the cannon-fodder in this crusade. "The crack Indian army," says a UP dispatch published in India, "is considered by military experts here (in Washington) to be the only military force in the Far East comparable with that of the Chinese Communists." Mrs. Pandit, Indian ambassador to Washington, has been quoted as admitting that "with conditions in China as they are, a certain responsibility has developed on us."

Nehru may dangle this possibility as bait for U.S. financial aid, but he will fail to deliver the goods. Indian public opinion is against involvement in any kind of Pacific Pact. "What Mrs. Pandit chooses to call responsibility will appear to many as an assignment," commented the Indian weekly **The Republic.** "To be assigned a function, and that not by the people, is certainly a bad business." At best Nehru might get U.S. arms, but this will not solve the problems of an Indian government already spending about half its annual budget on military preparations.

NO SALE: Under present circumstances Nehru has little to offer Washington. Point Four and a Marshall Plan for Asia are unpopular ideas in India. When America's Town Meeting of the Air broadcast from New Delhi recently, conservative leader Mrs. Renuka Ray, member of both the legislative and constitutional assemblies and recent Indian UN delgate, scoffed at the idea that any sort of capitalist device could do India's economy any good.

U.S. capital does not consider conditions in India stable enough for large-scale investment. Indian public opinion is against joining the Anglo-American bloc, and the government's decision to remain within the British Commonwealth has made it more unpopular than ever. Prospects of any real benefit to India from Pandit Nehru's visit are dim.

Make Marc Mayor!

The issues, the facts and the stakes in the N.Y. election

THE job of electing Vito Marcantonio mayor of New York City is the toughest ever tackled by the American Labor Party. But with energy, political enterprise and sufficient campaign funds, it can be accomplished.

Energy and enterprise come easy to the hard-working ALP. Finances come a lot harder. An appeal signed by Marcantonio, Henry Wallace and Paul Robeson has gone to the entire ALP enrollment in N.Y.C. asking for $2 a head to run the campaign.

Given the funds to do the job, ALP in its first campaign to elect an independent administration of its own is blessed with the most dynamic vote-getter since the late Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia headed its ticket. And it has been obligingly furnished by both backsliding old parties with a set of issues which are really burning up N.Y. people.

Henry Wallace and Vito Marcantonio, arm in arm, at the Chicago Labor Conference for Peace

STRENGTH TO WIN: In the weeks since his nomination last July, estimates of Marc's total vote by unfriendly experts have risen from 200,000 to 600,000.

Marcantonio himself has predicted an ALP vote of 850,000—more than enough to win in an evenly contested three-cornered race. The vote in N.Y. mayoralty elections usually runs between 2,000,000 and 2,250,000. In 1945 William O'Dwyer won with 867,426 votes on the Democratic line and 258,000 ALP votes. His two major opponents ran badly, collecting slightly over 400,000 votes apiece.

ALP in N.Y.C. has repeatedly demonstrated voting strength of more than 400,000 (482,790 for LaGuardia in 1937; 435,374 for LaGuardia in 1941; 423,000 for Wallace in 1948 despite the Truman landslide). O'Dwyer's poor showing in 1945 among ALP voters reflected his Democratic machine opposition to LaGuardia in 1941.

This year ALP has no entangling alliances—and it has the issues. Here they are:

The 5c fare

The most outraged section of N.Y.'s population, criss-crossing all political lines, is the harried "straphanger"—the subway, bus and street-car rider on the city's vast network of municipal and privately-owned transit lines.

Democratic candidates in N.Y. have historically battled for the 5c fare against Republicans bent on raising it to 7c or 10c. O'Dwyer got ALP support in 1945 on his promise to keep the 5c fare.

Last year O'Dwyer struck his 5c fare colors, upping the fare to 10c on subways, 7c on buses and street-cars, and permitting all manner of combinations. For many families this amounts to as much as an extra month's rent per year in added costs of travel. No improvement in subway "service"—perhaps the worst in the world—has resulted from the doubling of fares. When the ALP tried to force a referendum on the fare raise last year, O'Dwyer prevented it.

THE PEOPLE, NO: Now a 15c fare is in the wind, hinted at in two transit reports, one by the O'Dwyer administration, the other independently issued by backers of the Republican-Fusion-Liberal candidate, Newbold Morris.

Treatment of Negroes

New York, city of racial and political minorities, has seen the rights of both increasingly ignored or trampled on. Its 500,000 Negroes and growing population of Puerto Ricans are barricaded into the city's worst jobs and its most crowded and rat-ridden slums.

Non-political organizations like the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League have shown documented evidence of police brutality against Negroes. Men and women have been beaten on the streets, their homes invaded by plain-clothes police on absurd pretexts. Many have been shot or beaten to death or painfully crippled by police guns and nightsticks. But no steps to halt this have been taken either by Mayor O'Dwyer or his various police commissioners or the borough district attorneys.

PEEKSKILL REVERBERATIONS: Governor Dewey's whitewash of the Peekskill mob violence has brought to the doors of every group the threat of suppression of free speech.

Further rankling the Negro population is the conduct of the O'Dwyer administration in the case of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.'s Stuyvesant Town housing project, which occupies several blocks of tax-free city land and bars Negroes from tenancy. In current court tests of this color bar, O'Dwyer's corporation counsel is defending Metropolitan Life's discrimination policy against tenant and Negro groups.

Negroes and other minorities throughout polyglot N.Y.C. need and demand an entire new deal—on housing, health, schools, job opportunities (35% of N.Y. Negro workers are unemployed; every fourth family requires welfare help of some sort), safety from victimization by police and other attackers—and they know their chief hope of winning is an ALP-Marcantonio victory.

Other issues

Practically anywhere you touch the sensitive skin of teeming New York, you discover another issue.

City employes, for example, are among the lowest paid of many a U.S. municipality. Under O'Dwyer with his 1945 pledges, they expected to win collective bargaining through unions of their own choosing. Instead, departmental witch hunts have been conducted against "agitators"; wages and conditions have not improved; picketing City Hall usually finds O'Dwyer vacationing somewhere out of the city.

HOUSING-SCHOOLS: N.Y.C. is short by many hundred thousands of housing units—a lack the O'Dwyer administration ignored completely until citizens' action two years ago forced adoption of a program, which has not been carried out. "Slum clearance" to make way for express highways and other conveniences to business and motorists has left thousands of low-income families with no place to move.

Schools are overcrowded, outmoded, understaffed. A witch-hunt among teachers under the Dewey-Feinberg bill has found eager allies among O'Dwyer's school administration.

City services, such as street cleaning and garbage removal, park maintenance, street repair etc. are all insufficient or non-existent. The O'Dwyer administration which has doubled sales taxes and upped transit fares has lowered business and real estate's share of supporting the city's maintenance by more than 10%.

The meaning of the N.Y. election

Why the Guardian is for Marc

By James Aronson

MANY things have happened in the last four years that have not made us feel good, as Americans. Many times in the last four years each one of us must have asked: "What's America to me?"

Is it the dollars that go to kill Greek citizens who want nothing more than a chance to live a decent life in freedom?

Is it the hound dog of an American Gestapo that drives men to suicide and banishes others from our land because they think radical thoughts?

Is it the face of hatred that tells 12,000,000 of our fellow Americans that they are inferior because the color of their skin is different — and beats them with police clubs at our very doors?

Is it the ugly voice that screams "Jew bastard!" in a dozen Peekskills and summons up the nightmare of Hitler's furnaces?

Is it the jaded man with the face to the camera and the hand outstretched to a visiting fascist dictator who waddles up the steps of New York's City Hall?

That's the America of Harry Truman and William O'Dwyer, his carbon copy. That's the America of the hypocrites and the fatbacks, who gild the lily though the root is putrid — and they know it.

That's not America to us.

BUT many things have happened in the last four years that HAVE made us feel good, as Americans.

It was Henry Wallace standing in Madison Sq. Garden in New York three years ago and saying to Harry Truman and his gang: We will not stir your witch's brew.

It was the Progressive Party founding convention in Philadelphia in 1948, where Americans of every kind and job and color came together to plan a new day. (Can you who were there think about it without a lump rising?)

It was the million people who voted Progressive last fall; the thousands more who were kept from voting; the thousands and thousands more who now say to that staunch million: How right you were!

It is the magnificent people in every state and community, mostly unpaid, often abused, never dispirited, who are keeping alive the progressive tradition and the progressive organization — and winning new friends every day.

AND more: It's a man of slight build—alert, with the face of intelligence and human warmth — standing on the floor of Congress demanding, sometimes alone, peace, security, abundance. And telling how to get it.

It's a man (as the people shout with glee: "You tell 'em, Marc!") who speaks in the halls and on the commons wherever people meet to talk for peace and against hate; who sits in a plain office in east Harlem and listens with the patience of a deeply good man to his people and their woe.

It's a man who talks in short sentences and means them: "When I'm mayor the first thing I'll do is cut the subway fare to five cents." . . . "When I'm mayor the cops will use their clubs—on people who try to beat up Negroes."

THAT'S America to us.

THAT'S why we at the NATIONAL GUARDIAN are for Marcantonio for mayor. That's why we are taking four pages to tell you about him and the other fine people who are running with him on the American Labor Party ticket.

We're for Marc because he's great—and we're sick to the ears of the Harry Truman Way and its dirty bypaths in New York and elsewhere. And we think you are too.

We wanted you to know about the fight the ALP is putting up in New York to Make Marc Mayor, and what it means to you.

And if ALP can do it here—well, you can do it there. The GUARDIAN would love to help.

The man everybody calls Marc

A heart as big as all outdoors

By John T. McManus

THE man the ALP presents to N.Y. City's voters to bring back the 5c fare and mend the rest of the city's ills is no superman. But he is the nearest to one in N.Y. politics since Fiorello LaGuardia, New York's beloved "Little Flower."

Vito Marcantonio, like LaGuardia, is small in stature but boundless in energy, integrity and concern for people's welfare.

LAGUARDIA'S CHOICE: "Marc"—as the whole city calls him, friend or foe—was born in the mixed east Harlem district of New York which LaGuardia represented in Congress for many years before he ascended to the job of mayor. He was still a New York University law student when he managed LaGuardia's successful campaign for Congress in 1924. Marc was then 22.

The next year he got his law degree and entered LaGuardia's law firm. The same year he married Miriam Sanders, social worker who recently retired after a long career in the administration of Harlem House settlement.

As a young lawyer specializing in tenant problems, Marcantonio managed LaGuardia's congressional campaigns until the Little Flower became mayor in 1933. Marc was LaGuardia's choice to succeed him in Congress and won his first seat in 1934 on a Republican-Fusion ticket. (Although sometimes listed as Republicans, both Marc and LaGuardia were always more staunch New Dealers than N.Y.'s Democratic contingent in Congress.)

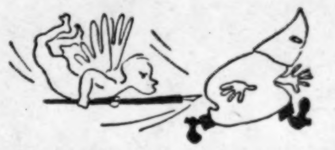
VICTORY HIS HABIT: The Republican label proved Marc's temporary undoing in 1936, when he was unseated in the Roosevelt-Landon landslide. He came back in 1938, although disowned by the Republicans for his New Dealism, winning primaries in both GOP and ALP—and the election. He got the Republican and ALP nominations for re-election in 1940; and in 1942 won the Democratic primary, too, to become the unopposed nominee of all three parties. Both Dem. and Rep. organizations have since tried desperate measures to unseat him, but he has been elected regularly every two years, last year for the first time on the ALP ticket alone.

Top man on the Hill

In Congress, Marcantonio has become perhaps the most respected single legislator on Capitol Hill. He is respected not only for his abilities and personal qualities, but also for his uncompromising devotion to progressive policies and because he knows the rules of Congress—and how to use them—better than any man on the hill.

Top leaders of both parties look to Vito Marcantonio for leadership and strategy whenever any progressive measure faces a close call. This year Marcantonio's adroitness in the field of parliamentary maneuvering saved the American labor movement from an even worse bill than the Taft-Hartley law. Marc pulled a trick out of the hat which defeated the vicious Wood Bill, after it had been technically passed. This gave the Truman Administration a last chance, which it has not yet taken, to beat Taft-Hartley in 1949.

FDR LIKED IT: Marcantonio has been the chief sponsor in Congress of anti-poll tax and fair employment legislation. FDR took the substance of Marc's FEPC bill during the war as the basis for his Fair Employment order eliminating racial discrimination in war contract jobs.



On labor rights Marcantonio has been the staunchest advocate of any congressman; similarly on price and rent control, public housing, anti-discrimination in education, government employ and other phases of American life.

Sometimes alone, and seldom with more than a handful of allies in either house, Marcantonio has stood fast against the entire Truman bi-partisan program for armaments manufacture and economic exploitation of other countries for the benefit of U.S. big business through the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan.

HE'S THERE TO VOTE: Even the rock-ribbed Republican N.Y. **Sun** has had to doff its editorial silk hat to Marc, stating: "No member of the N.Y. City delegation has worked as faithfully and as vigorously . . . as has Marcantonio. He has responded to 'yea' and 'nay' roll calls and spoken often on a wider variety of subjects than have any of his colleagues. . . ."

The press' pet villain

Coming from a tough district—and getting tough with any and all opposition which opposes progress—Marcantonio has incurred the editorial enmity of most of the N.Y. City press (even though most working reporters think the world of him and can depend on him always for colorful incisive comments and action).

Marc has been darkly portrayed and vilified by the press; not only the Hearst and Scripps-Howard papers and the **Daily News,** but even the temperate N.Y. **Times,** which devoted a three-part serial editorial to trying to beat him in 1948. In ultimate fairness, the **Times** printed a two-column, two-fisted rebuttal by Marc which probably won back any ground the **Times** tried to lose for him.

THE MAN CLOSE UP: To those permitted a closeup of the nation's only progressive Congressman, despite the press' paper curtain, Marcantonio is a humorous, intelligent, quick-witted legislator with a heart as big as all outdoors for the problems of his constituents—regardless of politics.

No Congressman in N.Y. history—not even the sainted LaGuardia—has ever undertaken such a project of community service as Marcantonio has during his 15 years of public life.

It is so, as the **Sun** says, that he seldom or ever misses a roll call or a session of Congress. It is equally so, although no one ever saw it in the **Sun,** that Marc has seldom in his whole career missed spending Saturday and Sunday working on the problems of his constituents.

VOTE FOR MARC

THE LINES ARE LONG: He has two congressional offices — one at the south end of his district, the other in the 116th St. end, in the Puerto Rican area. Long lines of people await him on Saturday in one office, Sunday in the other. Many need jobs.

They have tenant problems; their sons or daughters may have got into trouble; they need hospitalization or medical care and have no money for it. They even bring their domestic problems to Marc.

Not only Marc, but the staff of his law firm and others who volunteer for the work, tend personally to the needs and wants of these people—requirements which are not cared for by any city department or by any other political officeholder or club.

HE WAS THERE BEFORE: During the 1948 campaign a woman worker for one of Marcantonio's opponents undertook to canvass in the district. The doleful result was reported in the N.Y. **Herald Tribune:** Every family she visited had been helped by Marc—kitchen painted, children given medical care, errant son straightened out, an immigrant parent helped to enter the country. Marc was their man.

When Marc relaxes, it is sometimes for a midnight small-stakes poker game with a few friends. But more likely he can be found behind a stack of bound Supreme Court proceedings dating back a hundred years or more. searching out precedents for congressional arguments against invasions of citizens' rights, as in the Mundt Bill. He is also one of the best-read men in Congress on American history, as many a congressional opponent has learned to his discomfiture.

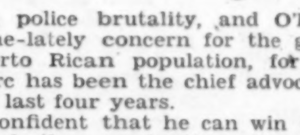
How he campaigns

In his mayoralty campaign, Marc has already started on an intensive nightly round of sound truck street meetings, union halls, church congregations. Marc campaigns with equal facility in Spanish and Italian, can also get along in Yiddish if the occasion demands. Meanwhile, both his opponents are campaigning chiefly through press releases, after dinner speeches or at cornerstone layings.

Newbold Morris, onetime liberal who now wears the Dewey colors as the Republican-Fusion-Liberal candidate for mayor, Marc refuses to take seriously as an opponent. "He is a man from nowhere, trying to find his way home," Marc says.

"LISTEN BILL": Marc's fire is directed at Mayor O'Dwyer, principal target of his street corner speeches and of his radio programs on WMCA, entitled "Marcantonio to O'Dwyer."

In these talks he has already cornered O'Dwyer on the 5c fare, housing, police brutality, and O'Dwyer's come-lately concern for the growing Puerto Rican population, for whom Marc has been the chief advocate for the last four years.



Confident that he can win (he refused the nomination once before with the remark that he wouldn't run for mayor unless he thought he could win), Marc has inspired his campaign workers with this conviction. And he is in a fair way to convincing even the representatives of the opposition press.

BREAKFAST WITH MAYOR: "You fellows," he told a recent press conference, "have been predicting my defeat for the last 14 years. Your record as predicters isn't very good.

"Now, you come around and see me election night. At midnight the radio will have O'Dwyer 'way ahead. At 2 a.m. they will be reporting a swing to Newbold.

"But at 6 a.m., drop around and see me. I invite you to breakfast the day after election with the next mayor of New York."

And the ladies

MARY MURPHY
For Queens Borough President

Mary Murphy, organizer-counsel for Local 65, United Wholesale and Warehouse Employees, is the ALP candidate for Borough President of Queens. Mother of two children, she is active in the National Lawyers Guild, Congress of American Women, National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, Irish-American Progressive Assn.

RAY LEV
For City Council, 19th District

Concert pianist Ray Lev is the ALP candidate for City Council in Manhattan's 19th Councilmanic District. She has used her talents in many good causes. The U.S. government awarded her two citations for patriotic service. Miss Lev is a leader in the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, American Federation of Musicians, Guild of Musical Artists, Hadassah, Haganah-Americans.

On Staten Island

ANTHONY FUSCO
For Richmond Borough President

ALP candidate for Richmond Borough President (Staten Island) is draftsman Anthony Fusco. In 1936 Mayor La Guardia appointed him to the Committee for City Planning to wipe out slums and build low-cost housing. He has also helped rebuild and improve the New York waterfront. Fusco has lived on Staten Island for 20 years, became a member of the ALP at its inception.

These are the people on Row C—the ALP line

Paul Ross

Victim of sellout puts people wise

THROUGH 1947 and part of 1948 Mayor O'Dwyer had repeated his promise to hold the New York subway fare at a nickel. But in April, 1948, he surrendered to the local real estate interests, announced that the fare would become a dime.

Immediately a door slammed in City Hall and Paul Ross walked out of his $14,000-a-year job as the mayor's administrative secretary. For two years Ross had fought a running battle with O'Dwyer against the fare increase.

KNOWS THE PROBLEMS: Now Ross, a veteran of 11 brilliant years in municipal service, is the ALP candidate for Comptroller of New York City. He is a popular candidate because he knows popular problems; he knew for sure that a fare boost would mean hardship in higher living costs.

Ross' long city service has made him an expert on all the big problems. He knows housing, and is chairman of the New York Tenants Council and the Committee to End Discrimination in Stuyvesant Town—the mammoth Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. project which refuses to rent to Negroes. He is vice-chairman of the ALP and a national officer of the Lawyers Guild.

PAUL ROSS

VOICE OF EXPERIENCE: When Ross stands before campaign crowds and talks about the fare increase he speaks from seven years of experience as assistant counsel to the city's Board of Transportation. He talks authoritatively about prices through a term as Middle Atlantic enforcement officer for the OPA. He sees rent and housing problems (and their solutions) clearly from service as chairman of the City Rent Commission.

Minneola P. Ingersoll

A school crusader who's hep on labor

MINNEOLA P. INGERSOLL is a Brooklyn housewife, mother and a gadfly to stand-pat politicians. She expects to continue all her activities, especially the gadflying, as ALP President of the City Council after the New York City elections in November.

Mrs. Ingersoll doesn't care for figureheads, and expresses her conviction that the council presidency has become transformed into one during the O'Dwyer regime. She is out challenging the old-liners energetically.

SCHOOL CRUSADER: Schools are one of Mrs. Ingersoll's main concerns. She pledges "a municipal administration that will come to grips with the acute crisis, both in funds and academic freedom, in our school system." She is deeply concerned because the Board of Education "has systematically underestimated the increase in pupil enrollment; therefore thousands of children eligible for kindergarten will be turned away both because of teacher shortage and lack of classroom space."

MINNEOLA INGERSOLL

UNION ORGANIZER: Mrs. Ingersoll moved to New York in 1946 after a running start in labor and welfare work elsewhere. Among other things, she was an organizer for the CIO Steelworkers. She helped found the Progressive Citizens in Brooklyn, is now women's chairman of the ALP. She is active in the Parent-Teacher and Visiting Nurse Associations and is leader of a women's group which has placed before the United Nations the case of Rosa Ingram, Georgia housewife facing death in a jimcrow frameup.

Ewart G. Guinier

Jimcrow landlords in for rough time

ON Nov. 9, Ewart G. Guinier expects to be the first Negro ever elected Borough President of Manhattan. The ALP candidate says: "Although Negroes represent about one-fifth of the vote in Manhattan, they have never been equitably represented in the municipal government. With my candidacy, Manhattanites have the opportunity of electing a man who represents and will fight for their interests."

WHAT HE WILL DO: This is what Guinier intends to do when elected:

- "I will sit on the Board of Estimate, the real governing body of the city, and see to it that no landlord who discriminates against minority groups will be given a license for a repair by my office. . . ."
- "I will see to it that the real estate and banking interests, who profit most from our subway and bus systems, are made to pay their share of the costs of maintaining those systems. . . ."
- "I will see to it that political favoritism be removed from municipal job hiring, that Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other minorities are given equal job and promotional opportunities in city jobs — that the little people of New York are given true representation."

EWART GUINIER

FIGHTING RECORD: Guinier has a fighting record in the interests of unions, minorities and city workers. He is international secretary-treasurer of the United Public Workers of America (CIO) and has held union offices for 15 years. As an outstanding city employe he won the LaGuardia Scholarship for Public Administration.

Ada Jackson

She makes decency grow in Brooklyn

POLICE in Brooklyn are brutal, especially against Negroes. Last spring the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People and the American Jewish Congress demanded that Gov. Dewey investigate. City officials were charged with permitting police beatings and unprovoked assaults, illegal entries, extortion. District Attorney Miles McDonald (Dem.) has failed to obtain indictments of any of the accused cops. Dewey has done nothing.

JACKSON-ACTION: Into this scene the ALP put forward Ada Jackson as candidate for Brooklyn Borough President. For 26 years she has been a leader in the fight against discrimination, for better schools and living conditions.

ADA JACKSON

Georgia-born of slave parents, Ada Jackson has been president of the Bedford-Stuyvesant-Williamsburgh School Councils; vice-president of the United Parent Associations; president of the Brooklyn Interracial Assembly, and co-chairman of Parents United Against Bigotry in the Schools.

Brooklynites dubbed her "Brooklyn's Fighting Lady" in a poll conducted by the Brooklyn **Eagle.**

Leo Isacson

Fighter who dotes on Bronx gangup

IN 1948 Leo Isacson stood New York on its head by his upset victory in the Bronx over Republican, Democratic and Liberal candidates in a by-election for Congress.

Defeated for re-election last November by a tri-partisan gangup, Isacson this fall heads the Bronx ALP ticket as candidate for Borough President.

FOUR TO BEAT: Isacson opposes candidates on the Republican, Democratic, Liberal, and Fusion tickets. Only incumbent Democrat James Lyons is considered serious opposition. The others, entered in political maneuvering to draw votes from Isacson, are waging no campaigns. Typical is Liberal Ira S. Palestin, who privately supports the Democrat, O'Dwyer, while running on the Republican-Fusion ticket.

LEO ISACSON

Isacson's chances are good. Running for Borough President in 1945, he polled 96,000 votes. Since then he has made a fine record in Congress allied with Vito Marcantonio for housing, rent control, civil rights.

RECORD HOLDER: He gained the acclaim of Jewish voters for his forthright fight for Israel and last fall polled 45,000 votes in a single congressional district. This was the highest percentage of votes polled by any ALP-Progressive candidate in the 1948 elections.

Ben Davis

His enemies can't lick councilman

THEY couldn't find a candidate in the 21st District of Manhattan to oppose Ben Davis for City Council. For months the Democrat-Republican-Liberal coalition tried to find a Negro to challenge the Communist Councilman. Half a dozen were approached, all refused. One indicated he would back Davis, saying it wasn't a political matter but a question of the unity of the Negro people.

Ultimately Earl Brown, reporter for **Life** Magazine who won his job through an article attacking Joe Louis, accepted the tri-partisan designation.

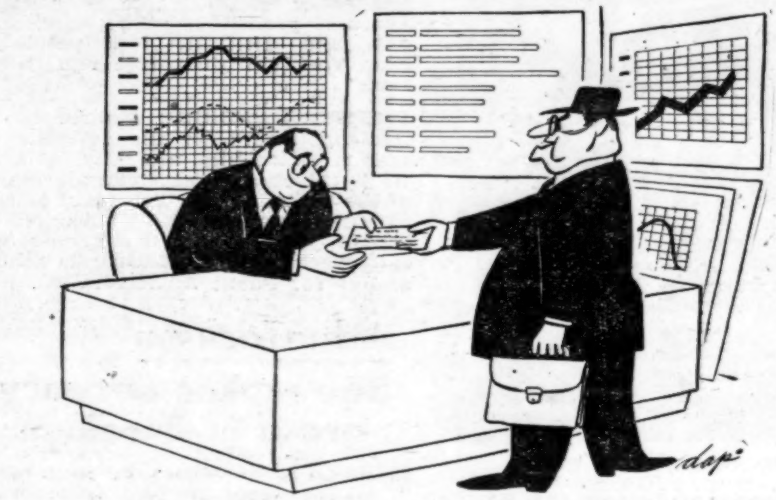
BIG VOTE-GETTER: Davis entered the City Council in 1943 as a Communist. He was re-elected in 1945 under proportional representation, running up the second highest vote. This year, with proportional voting out, he is running with Communist Party and ALP backing.

As a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, Davis has been a central figure at the Foley Square trial, where he is one of the 12 defendants.

BENJAMIN DAVIS

All over the U.S. progressives root for Marc

In the last two weeks the GUARDIAN's mail has been flooded with letters from every section of the country—from Progressive Party leaders, trade unionists and just plain readers—wishing, praying and working for a victory for Marcantonio and the ALP ticket in New York. Below we print a sampling of the letters. To those whose letters are not printed, we'd like to say that your greetings have been passed on.—Ed.



"We want you to conduct a survey showing 89% of the public opposed to the American Labor Party."

DULUTH, MINN.

Time to wake up

Vito Marcantonio's record, and his uncompromising stand throughout his long and illustrious career, merits the all-out support of all the progressive forces the country over.

The American workers all over the country need only look over their Congressmen's records in comparison with Marc's. Labor must wake up; Marc's running for N.Y. mayor on the ALP ticket needs all-out support of the progressive forces throughout the land. **Edward Hendrickson**

TOLEDO, OHIO

The good fight

Almost four years ago, long before I ever heard of a Progressive Party, while I was chairman of the legislative committee in my union, I used to read about Marcantonio and watch his voting. I admired him because I could see that he was fighting for me, my family and my fellow workers.

I have watched the record since, and Marc is still fighting the good fight. The election of Marcantonio as mayor will give the progressive movement new life up and down the country.

Charles J. Clark
Progressive Candidate for City Council

DUNEDIN, FLA.

Promise-keeper

If ever labor has had a chance to show its strength it is today, when, sold out by the party which made so many promises to labor in its campaign for election, labor by its united vote can elect Mr. Marcantonio, the greatest fighter ever for labor and the keeping of campaign promises. **Mabel Frost**

TRUCKSVILLE, PA.

Found: man of vision

In this age of spiritual and mental ineptitude, where there seems to be no vision in high places, how much real men are needed, men and also women who will not lower their standard of "liberty and justice for all."

To this end, I consider Mr. Marcantonio a worthy candidate for the office for which he is aspiring; and every progressive and every other person who believes in fair dealing and justice should stand behind Mr. Marcantonio 100%. **Esther M. Boston**

CHAPEL HILL, N.C.

Beacon for the South

No one in his right mind could say that the workers, farmers and Negro people of the South are properly represented in Congress.

When the misrepresentatives of the South slander the Negro people or labor, it is Vito Marcantonio who backs them down. Marc's fight to repeal the poll tax has brought new hope to millions of voteless southerners.

Every vote for Marcantonio is another nail driven in the coffin of discrimination, low wages and war. Marcantonio as mayor of New York would make the big city's lights shine like a new north star, beckoning encouragement to the humble, fearful, and oppressed all over America. **Mike Ross**

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Marc clears the air

I hear my Congressman (Marcantonio) is running for mayor of New York.

Well, now Marc makes it necessary for the rest of us to elect a lot of PP congressmen and women to try to fill the big hole he will leave.

When Marc fights, he clears the air instead of clouding it. His whole fight for Truman's promises has smoked out the Truman double-dealing. Marc surely qualifies for the influential job of being mayor of New York. And Mayor Marcantonio is easier to say than Congressman Marcantonio!

Katherine Shryver
State Director, Progressive Party

LAWRENCE, MASS.

Sure proof

Worry and hunger are shaking the workers of this heavily unemployed textile city out of the cynicism that developed under years of dirty machine politics. They are angry. They want answers and fighting action.

At the mill gates we distributed several thousand copies of "One Man Stood Up," the story of Vito Marcantonio's fight against the Taft-Hartley sellout. Not one was left on the streets.

The name, the record, and the fighting campaign of Marcantonio are the surest proof that the people's fight against unemployment, fascism, and war is a growing, winning fight. **Rev. Amos C. Barstow Murphy**
Progressive Candidate for Mayor

VALLEY CITY, N.D.

Blue ribbon winner

New York Progressives have known for a quarter of a century the blue-ribbon qualities of Vito Marcantonio. Since the GUARDIAN's birth (praise the Lord!) new thousands have met him. Out in the stix perhaps we are inclined to view provincially the present New York electoral campaign. We shouldn't.

Just as the trial of the 12 Communists is everybody's fight, so is Marcantonio's battle our battle. His election will be a ringing victory for the forces of progress, peace, and decency throughout America. This is a word of encouragement to that band of 100 percent Americans who will punch doorbells, pass literature, and speak up for the people's candidate, our candidate! As a measure of good faith, a small check is enclosed. Will you route it to ALP headquarters? Thanks. **Don Matchan**

MADISON, WIS.

Turning point

I think the most momentous and courageous political decision of our time was when Marcantonio entered the race for mayor of New York. Progressives in America and all over the world are gratified that there is still a powerful organization of people in America that are willing to attack the lion in his den.

It is not impossible that the outcome of this election will mark a turning point in American politics. The old party machines, to please the people, must make the government of New York City sensitive to the needs of all its people. This they cannot do because both parties are foster children of special interests.

The political bosses of New York, while basking in the glamor of running the largest and wealthiest city in the world, have defaulted in their service to their constituents. They can and must be defeated. Marcantonio is the man to do it. **Merl H. Shipman**

OSHKOSH, NEB.

Anti-skinflint

Vito Marcantonio is an outstanding figure in American life. He deserves election to the office of mayor of the City of New York for these reasons: he is opposed to the skinflints, but not because every skinflint opposes him; he demands the airing of the Peekskill affair, which determines rational procedure! There are too many other reasons why every good citizen should vote for him. **Emil Kopac**

PITTSBURGH, PA

Candidates' candidate

Pennsylvania's 22 candidates for local office unanimously support the national leadership of Congressman Vito Marcantonio in his mayoralty race in New York City.

Since the birth of the Progressive Party we have learned from and grown with Marcantonio both in practical politics from the precinct level up, and in how to fight without an inch of retreat. Nothing will stop Marc and nothing will stop us in growing with him and with the people. We think '49 is the gateway to smashing victories in '50 with Wallace and Robeson and others. Marc will lead the way.

Zalmon H. Garfield
State Director, Progressive Party

BALTIMORE, MD.

Fiorello's mantle

There is no doubt in my mind that the candidacy of Rep. Marcantonio is of great significance and importance, important to all freedom loving people of America. His record in Congress will bear this out. No other congressman has fought as consistently for Truman's fair deal program, not even Truman himself.

Civil rights, housing, health and education have been forgotten by all of Congress, with the exception of this one man.

He has been a fearless fighter for the "forgotten man" and well deserves the mantle of another fearless fighter for the people, Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia.

John E. T. Camper

MACON, GA.

Endearing record

Marcantonio's record in Congress has endeared him to Negroes everywhere. Those of us who live in the deep South will be urging our brothers in black North to go all-out in supporting the ALP ticket from top to bottom. **Larkin Marshall**
Editor, Macon World

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Brave advocate

Congressman Vito Marcantonio has bravely and clearly advocated policies at the national and international level which place him on the side of peace and against mass destruction; for the UN and against further war crimes; for abundance, health, and education and against an economy of scarcity, depression and exploitation.

Because Marcantonio's policies extend beyond the scope of a municipality and its mayor, the election in N.Y.C. will be watched with hope by men of good will throughout the world. **Irving J. King, M.D.**

OBERLIN, OHIO

Blasting with facts

We of the midwest had the great privilege and pleasure of listening to Vito Marcantonio when he, in company with Henry Wallace, addressed a Progressive Party congress at Cleveland in September.

His factual, detailed expose of the machinery practiced by lobbyists and persons in the national legislature to abridge and defeat the mandates of the voters highlighted his ability to think clearly and encompass a beclouded issue, no matter how devious the pattern of the subversive forces to defeat the will and interest of 95% of this nation's populace. **P. W. Kenney**

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Wants a real mayor

Much as we in California would hate to lose from Congress the great performance of Vito Marcantonio, we would like to see in the United States Conference of Mayors at least one big-city chief official, like Marc, who could show the rest of the bunch how a city should be run, and can be run, for the benefit of the people.

As the ALP does its job and elects Marc, we'll fill in on two angles: we'll continue our recall campaign to get rid of our mayor and put in a progressive replacement, and we'll try to pay off on a deep obligation to elect at least one Progressive Party congressman from this area in 1950 to learn how to fill Marc's shoes.

Bert Witt
Executive Vice-Chairman
Ind. Prog. Party

BAY CITY, MICH.

Vito has no peer

At a Bay City-Saginaw PAC committee meeting the secretary-treasurer of the largest steel local remarked: "When the chips are down and you have a fight on your hands along the lines of straight trade-unionism, John Lewis takes the palm; and when the gloves are off in a knock-down, drag-out fight along the lines of labor legislation, Vito Marcantonio has no peer in Congress."

At the same meeting a delegate from the largest UAW local in Bay City also commented: "If we went along all the way with national PAC policies, labor would have to desert some of its most able champions such as Vito Marcantonio and others."

J. J. O'Neil

VANCOUVER, WASH.

Represents west too

I have in recent years considered that Vito Marcantonio has been my only representative in Congress.

I consider that "Marc," as mayor of New York City, the job second only to President, can blazen before the people the true possibilities of American democracy, the hope and dream of our people—the fulfillment of the "American Creed."

Thomas S. Flynn, Chairman
Clark County Central Committee,
Progressive Party

JOPLIN MO.

Missouri wants showing

We believe Vito Marcantonio is a great man. We believe that if he wins the election it would be a great victory for the progressives all over the United States. It would give them something to work for. We need fearless leaders. We only wish we were where we could vote for him. **Ernest Sadler**

PALO ALTO, CALIF.

Bell-ringer's chance

If I were in New York this year (as I was last) I'd ring more doorbells than ever before. The current opportunity to do big things must not be missed. **Mary O. Wilson**

CLEVELAND, OHIO

Eyes on Marc

All over America, progressives, and reactionaries too, for that matter, are watching to see whether New York will elect as its mayor our country's courageous spokesman, Vito Marcantonio.

In all his years in Congress, Marcantonio has fought for the people who make up America. Money cannot buy Marcantonio. Pressure cannot scare him. And the united efforts of reaction have not been able to defeat him.

Marcantonio's election will mean that the people of New York are rejecting the bipartisan cries for atomic armament races and war. It will mean that they share the outraged feelings of all Americans at the fascist overtones and actions which greeted Paul Robeson at Peekskill.

A winning vote for Marcantonio is a vote to break through the rotten betrayal of the people's hopes by the two old parties.

Hugh De Lacy
Executive Director,
Progressive Party of Ohio

LABOR WEEK

COAL-STEEL

No break in sight; 860,000 are out

STEEL puddlers and coal miners were out together. There were 500,000 out at the mills and 360,000 idle in the mining towns.

Their strike problems were basically similar. But their strategic situations differed. United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis had the edge, since he had yielded nothing to fact-finders, as had Steelworkers President Philip Murray.

Steel is solid

This was the situation in steel:

- The tie-up against 30 corporations, topped by U.S. Steel, was solid. Furnaces were cold.
- Employers stood pat on their demand that workers contribute to a pension-insurance fund. The union stood on its demand that the steel companies follow the fact-finding formula — 10c-an-hour, employer-paid pensions and insurance.
- The government steered clear of further intervention, said everybody needed a "cooling off."

The coal shuttle

In coal, Lewis and his assistants shuttled between Bluefield, W. Va., and White Sulphur Springs, Va., talking contracts with southern and northern operators. These were the key issues:

- Increasing the 20c-a-ton owner contribution to the Welfare and Retirement Fund.
- A seven-hour day for the present eight-hour wage.
- Boosting the present wage scale of $14.05 a day.

As the week ended, the government called on Cyrus L. Ching to mediate. Owners and union agreed to meet with him.

Violence flared where scabs worked strip mines.

"JOIN OUR LINE": The steel shutdown was so tight that pickets had little to worry about. They listened to the World Series; one group had an informal chat with Benjamin Fairless, U.S. Steel President, at a plant gate. It was agreed to keep it off the record.

Big questions for both coal and steel workers were: How long would it last? Which industry would give first? And how much?

AFL CONVENTION

Green insists on wage demands

IN all its 68 years, the American Federation of Labor has never been a militantly international-minded organization. Last week, however, the cold war took over a good portion of its convention speech-making at St. Paul.

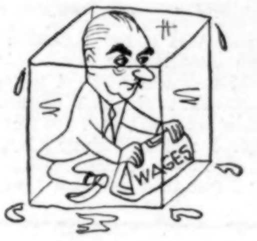
President Truman's message reversed FDR's description of one-third of America as "ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed." Truman told AFL delegates they should be proud to live in the "best-fed, best-clothed and best-housed" nation in the world. Truman's on-the-spot experts urged the AFL to make greater efforts to defeat communism in Europe's unions.

NEEDLING THE CIO: On the home front, President William Green took obvious delight in needling the CIO on its willingness to abandon wage increases. He said:

"We have never in any official statement said that we have reached the point where we will waive our right to demand increases in wages . . . and we are not going to do that. . . . It is a vital principle with us that we are not going to give up the right to demand equitable sharing in the earnings of corporations. . . . We are opposed to government boards setting our wage standards anywhere or any place."

STEEL POINT: The pointed reference was to CIO's announced willingness to forego wage increases in the steel and auto industries by accepting the recommendations of President Truman's fact-finding board in the steel dispute.

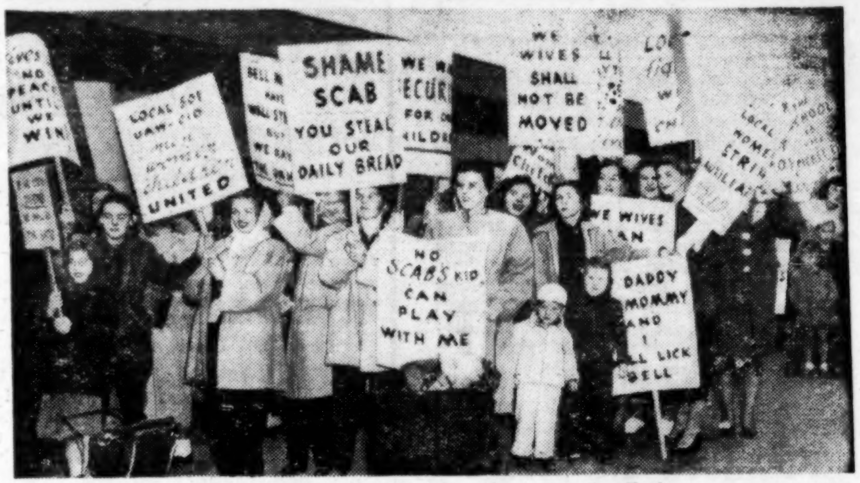
The convention voted a drive for a shorter work week. At the same time it bemoaned failure to gather in more members. A program for raiding the CIO Longshoremen in Hawaii was announced the same day that Harry Bridges disclosed his strike victory there.



The 700 delegates approved a $2 voluntary contribution from AFL members to build a political war chest for coming elections.

Five Republican senators were singled out as special targets: John Foster Dulles (N.Y.); Robert A. Taft (Ohio); Forrest C. Donnell (Mo.); Homer E. Capehart (Ind.), and Eugene D. Millikin (Col.).

Although Green gave the organization's paid-up membership as 8,000,000, it was not expected that more than $2,000,000 would be raised through the voluntary contributions.


SHAME SCAB YOU STEAL OUR DAILY BREAD
WE WIVES SHALL NOT BE MOVED
NO SCABS KID CAN PLAY WITH ME
DADDY MOMMY AND I ... LICK BELL
LOCAL 501 UAW-CIO
UNITED
WE WIVES

The ladies held the line at Buffalo

This picket line at the Bell Aircraft plant in Buffalo, N. Y., succeeded in turning back several carloads of non-strikers despite the presence of 100 sheriff's deputies. Two days later the deputies came back with tear gas bombs and broke up another line. The women are members of the CIO United Auto Workers auxiliary. Their husbands have been on strike since June 13. Last week, the Buffalo Common Council voted 14 to 1 to condemn Bell for "consistently resisting efforts to arbitrate." Bell previously refused to meet with state and Federal mediators. Last Thursday, in an unprecedented action, State Industrial Commissioner Edward Corsi appointed a fact-finding commission to investigate the strike.

HAWAII

Longshore victory

LADEN with the traditional flower leis, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union President Harry R. Bridges stood at the Honolulu airport and announced his union's victory in Hawaii's 159-day longshoremen's strike. Under the settlement, his men will get a 21c hourly wage increase—14c now, and an additional 7c on March 1, 1950, with 8c retroactive between March 1 and June 30, 1949. It will bring wages to $1.61 an hour.

Official CIO policy this year is 10c package of pensions, but no wage increase.

OFF-THE-RECORD VICTORY: Settlement of the strike came after four days of off-the-record talks without formal negotiations. Efforts by Hawaii Gov. Ingram M. Stainback to run the docks with non-union labor had failed to break the strike, despite a territorial

(Continued on following page)

A striker's lot

When he got time off from the picket line Republic Steel striker John W. Vollmer of Cleveland was hired by his wife to hang the Monday wash. He got some time off later that day to go squirrel shooting.

Like this issue? Pass it on a friend. He'll like it too.

Jennings Perry

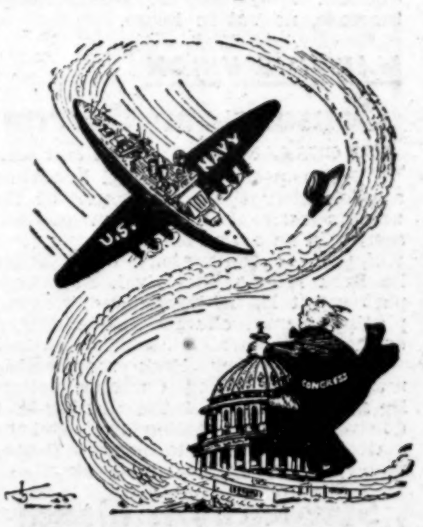
Mutiny on the Bounty

APART from being pledged to disarmament by our compact in the United Nations, we are urged toward it by ordinary common sense and the special instinct of self-preservation stirred by the race for atomic weapons. It is reasonable to say: "We **must** disarm." But it is going to be very difficult to get rid of our army, navy and air force and persuade our captains to give up their swords—and uniforms—and go home.

The reluctance of the officer class in our own Navy to bow to reorganization orders which, they feel, diminish their importance is a case in point; but only a case in point. The upper ranks in the other "branches of the service" would be equally "uncooperative" if their habits were disturbed or their pomp threatened.

The Navy officers are resisting what they consider to be the disarmament of the Navy. I do not mean to say their opposition is merely selfish. They, and the retired officers who have come angrily into print to support them, are genuinely alarmed. Their lives have been invested in the business of Defense. It is impossible for them to think that their particular services may no longer be needed.

IN other times and (of course) other lands the military have resisted unpopular civil directives by force. The chances are against that happening here. Our naval officers are resisting reorganization by losing, or threatening to lose, morale.



The Detroit News

Buzzing the capitol

We can understand how that is. We train these gentlemen to travel on morale. We send them to school to learn the trades of war, pay them very modestly and take care of their security in old age; but when we begin to disparage the trade they know, to discard the lethal tools they have been taught to revere, we deprive them of that sense of accomplishment that sustains the adult ego. These men have never hewn wood nor drawn water; if they are not needed to stand guard over the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, they have no value and no place.

In time of war they are important because the war is all-important. In time of peace they must find importance in the pretense that only force keeps the peace. Their morale depends upon their ability to discover jeopardy constantly, on every hand, to suspect the worst of every other power, friend or foe, and mount overwhelming arms against it. It is but natural that the prospect of disarmament, unilateral or universal, should be disheartening to them.

OUR warrior caste is like the warrior caste of any other place, a luxury bound to insist upon its necessity. The Navy officers who are down at the mouth because they were not permitted to build the mammoth carrier will never admit that other weapons have made such warships obsolete. It is pointless to expect that the brass and braid, taken by and large, ever will admit that the 20th century choice between peace and extinction has made war itself obsolete.

The greatest obstacle to disarmament now is armament, and the more arms we have the more difficult it will to be rid of them in the end.

(Continued from preceding page)

seizure order. Negotiations under Federal mediator Cyrus M. Ching had also failed to end the walkout.

On his return to San Francisco, the Australian-born Bridges and his lawyers mapped their fight against the government's move to convict him of perjury and conspiracy, and to deprive him of his citizenship. He is charged with having failed to reveal one-time membership in the Communist Party when naturalized. Bridges' attorneys were in court this week to ask for dismissal of the charges. If they fail, Bridges must face trial on Nov. 14.

COEUR D'ALENE

Farmers aid strike

FROM all over the far northwest trucks loaded high with food—the gift of sympathetic farmers—headed for central stockpiles to feed the families of 4,000 striking members of the CIO Mine & Mill Union in Idaho's Coeur d'Alene mining region.

There were several dozen truckloads of fresh vegetables, dried beans and fruit from small farmers in the rich Spokane Valley. From the Rupert-Burley area in southeastern Idaho came 14 tons of produce. Farmers Union members in the Kalispell, Mont. area were stockpiling food to be sent into the Coeur d'Alene; in the "Judith Basin" region of Montana they were to supply the strikers with milled wheat. From other regions came freshly-butchered meat, cabbages, apples and tomatoes.

And out on Oregon's West Coast the CIO Fishermen's Union pledged contributions of deep-sea fish, including salmon, which will be collected at central points and canned for the strikers at the fishermen's expense.

AUBURN, N. Y.

France is better

IN AUBURN, N. Y., International Harvester has threatened to destroy the livelihood of 1,800 employes and their families by closing its plant. When the CIO Farm Equipment Workers local petitioned Gov. Thomas E. Dewey to do something about it, they got a routine reply, no action.

Last week Gov. Dewey, stumping for John Foster Dulles, his candidate for the U.S. Senate, spoke in Auburn. As he spoke, some 300 unionists assembled many blocks away with placards attacking Harvester's threat to the city. Parading to the Dewey rally, they doubled the Governor's audience.

No longer able to ignore the Auburn story, Dewey met with three members of the Joint Emergency Committee of Harvester Workers. He promised to meet with Harvester's chairman of the board, Fowler McCormick, and directed his State Department of Commerce to look into the situation.

LA BELLE FRANCE: Meanwhile from France came news that Harvester is investing 2,000,000,000 francs in a French plant, to produce 7,000 tractors a year by 1951. With cheaper French labor and American equipment, IH expects to undersell anything the French can produce.

GUARDIAN's Paris correspondent wrote: "American workers are losing their jobs; French industry is losing its future."

ELECTRICAL WORKERS

Singer front splits

THE solid front against the Singer Sewing Machine Co. was broken. Last week the Bridgeport, Conn., local of the United Electrical Workers, CIO, voted to go back to work. This left the 7,000 UE strikers in the Elizabeth, N.J., plant alone in their fight against speedup. Leaders of the Elizabeth local charged "betrayal."

On May 1, the Elizabeth plant went on strike against a harsh speedup system instituted by the Singer Co. Four days later they were joined by the Bridgeport local.

For five months they maintained a united front against the company. The settlement came as a surprise to Elizabeth leaders who pointed to union recognition of the company's "standards" (speedup) system; yielding the right to negotiate revision of the work week in case of cutbacks in production. They won no general wage increase, no cut in hours.

MARITIME UNION

Censure for Curran

JOE CURRAN, CIO National Maritime Union president, waited less than a week after the adjournment of the union's convention to even political scores. In an action described as a clear violation of the union's constitution, he fired his political rival, New York port agent David Drummond, without placing formal charges before a trial committee.

A special New York membership meeting condemned Curran's action. By a vote of 800 to 4, the meeting beat down a Curran motion to table the matter, then voted to support Drummond in any legal action he takes.

Sympathy is illegal

UNION members who don't relish crossing other unions' picket lines have a new law to fight. The Connecticut Supreme Court of Errors has ruled that non-striking workers who refuse on principle to cross lines are not entitled to unemployment compensation. They can get it only if prevented by force from working.

You'll find stories in the GUARDIAN you'll find in no other paper.

A Trenton mother has hope this year

"Must be God sent these people"

By Milly Salwen
GUARDIAN special correspondent

TRENTON, N. J.

"THIS time last year," said Mrs. Emma English, "we had no hope."

The little, gnarled woman glanced out at the slashes of lightning. Rain pelted the sides of her wooden row house at 247 Church St.

A YEAR GOES BY: Last year at this time her son, her son-in-law and four other Trenton Negroes were under sentence of death. The trial of the Trenton Six was over. The all-white jury had rounded off the elaborate frame-up. Officials were ready to stamp "solved" on the William Horner murder case.

A year ago the Six waited in jail, thinking Sept. 19 was their last day. They waited all day to be taken from the cells, through the door at the end of the corridor. Nobody—not even the warden, the jailers or the court-appointed lawyers—bothered to tell them that their case was on appeal, that the death sentence was automatically postponed.

ONE WHO RECALLED: Mrs. English remembers.

"I was the hurtest person . . . Lord, I couldn't sleep, I couldn't half eat. I'd start to, but I just couldn't make out. I couldn't sleep nights. I walked all the time. I cried till I couldn't cry.

"I felt bad because I know, you see, Collis he wasn't guilty. He was right here at home. If it had been the evening part of the day, I wouldn't know for sure. But Collis was home, right to lunch. He wasn't one for missing a meal, he stayed home.

"Our boys were in there, for nothing. All through the trial I kept thinking, this isn't so, God won't let this happen. I was sure they'd be home, the last day. I cooked a big meal for all of us to celebrate—a steak, and black-eyed peas. . . .

"And then they were convicted. There was a crush on me. Many nights I lay down, and the way I felt, I wouldn't live to morning. I rose and I didn't think I'd rise."

THEN PEOPLE CAME: "I prayed, God would move all of this off of me. Lord, it was lonely.

"And then when the Civil Rights Congress people came in I felt good. I was there, I could feel it happening, when the meetings started. Every time I go to a meeting, it lifts me up. All of them working, us working together—and you know we'll prosper, it'll be something good.

"I got a lot of people now. Must be God sent these people to me. I could rest, now, I could lay down thinking, and just doze off.

"I feel now our boys got a chance to be clear of this, to be free to the world, go where they want. Collis was saying at the jail, if it hadn't been for the help of the people we would have been dead, I believe."

SOMETHING TO FOLLOW: The house is almost empty. Only her 12-year-old granddaughter, Jean Forrest, lives with Mrs. English now. She's waiting for her father, McKinley Forrest, one of the Six.

Bessie Mitchell, Mrs. English's daughter, is on a tour, telling the story of the case. Proudly her mother fingers letters and cards from Chicago, Los Angeles, Seattle—Arizona, New Mexico, Wisconsin.

"You're good people," she said. "I'm going to follow you up as long as I can make it. Sometimes I get crippled up, but I'm with you, as long as I live."

WASHINGTON

CONGRESS WEEK

Truman makes good —well, maybe

FOR 28 weeks the House Ways and Means Committee under the chairmanship of Rep. Robert L. Doughton (D-N.C.) labored over an Administration bill to expand social security benefits. On Tuesday last week they brought to the House floor HR 6000, a 201-page document.

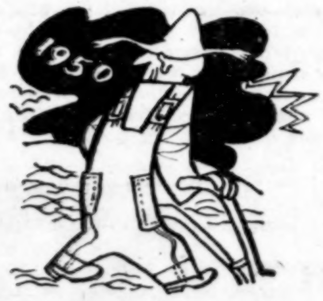
Eager to make good on at least one Truman promise in the 81st Congress, Administration leaders put full steam behind the measure. It was adopted by 333 to 14, a vote that cracked the GOP-Dixiecrat coalition and saw 130 Republicans voting against their party. Only two Democrats voted against the bill.

It was the Administration's greatest victory of the session. Whether or not the people would gain was still a question. The measure is to go to the Senate, won't be considered there until next session, and may be completely rewritten then.

MORE TO MORE PEOPLE: As it stands, the bill would extend Old Age and Survivors Insurance to 11,000,000 including 4,500,000 self-employed people working in towns and cities. Benefits are boosted an average of 70%; a retired worker now getting $26 a month would receive $45. (The Progressive Party has called for $100 a month for everyone over 60.) Veterans would draw benefits on the basis of a salary of $160 for every month of service between Sept. 16, 1940 and July 24, 1947.

Under the bill employes as well as employers would pay more than the present 1%. Next year employes would pay 1.5%. By 1970 they would pay 3¼%.

An effort by Republicans to recommit the measure in favor of their own diluted version was beaten down.



Farm plans

The Senate, meanwhile, in debate on farm price support legislation, made it clear that the Administration has abandoned the Brannan farm plan except as campaign bait. A promise by Sen. Elmer Thomas (D-Okla.), chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, that he would introduce the Brannan measure as a substitute was unfulfilled at the weekend.

Present legislation, which expires Dec. 31, guarantees farmers an income on basic commodities of 90% of parity —meaning on a par with an earlier prosperous period.

SLIDING PRICES: Before the Senate was a bill introduced by Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D-N.M.), former Secretary of Agriculture. It would replace present rigid price supports with a sliding scale that would set parity at 75% for some crops, 60% for others.

With the Administration backing the Anderson measure, some senators crossed party lines and, by a 38 to 37 vote, struck out its major feature, flexible supports. In a long, angry, bitter debate which lasted from noon to midnight, during which tempers were torn and Vice President Alben W. Barkley twice broke a tie by voting against his own party, the bill was recommitted for rewriting.

WHAT TORIES WANT: Predictions

(Continued on following page)

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were that it would come back in its original form. Debate would be resumed on Monday.

If no measure is adopted at this session, the Hope-Aiken Law automatically goes into effect Jan. 1. That law, like the Anderson measure, would set a sliding scale for parity dropping down to 60% for some crops.

Back of the whole farm price issue is a determined effort by conservative forces to end government aid to farmers, eliminate small growers from the land and strengthen big coroporation farms.

Disappearing act

With the farm price program in the balance and the future of the House social security measure in doubt, the Administration early last week quietly abandoned any effort to enact any of Harry Truman's boasted civil rights measures — anti-poll tax, anti-lynch, and fair employment practices bills. Listed as "must" legislation throughout this session, the President agreed to drop them from congressional calendars.

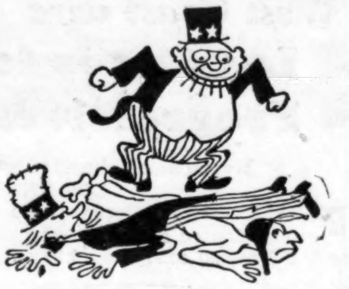
A drive was on to bring the 81st Congress to an end within three weeks.

U.S. Indians: The End

ON the President's desk last week and ready for his signature lay a bill, seemingly containing only a routine appropriation for aid to the Navajo and Hopi Indians. But an attached rider would violate every treaty made with the tribes by placing the Indians under state instead of federal jurisdiction.

It "assures the ultimate destruction" of their rights, customs and land holdings, warned John Collier, former U.S Commissioner of Indian Affairs and now president of the Institute of Ethnic Affairs.

Collier pointed out: "The whole body of American law and precedent granting American Indians certain immunities, including immunity from state laws, was bought, through treaty agreements, by the Indians. They paid for these immunities with many hundreds of millions of acres of land."



SUPREME COURT

Aid for H'wood 10

AT the extreme right sat Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark. Between him and the other Justices when the court convened last week were two empty chairs, one left vacant by the death of Justice Wiley B. Rutledge, the other by the serious injury of Justice William O. Douglas, who had been thrown from a horse in the Cascade Mountains of Washington.

On Tuesday the Senate confirmed, 48 to 16, the appointment to the Court of Judge Sherman Minton; one empty seat was filled.

ON THE CALENDAR: Among the 300 cases before the court are those of screen writers John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo (two of the Hollywood Ten). They are appealing fines of $1,000 each and jail terms of one year for contempt of Congress. They had refused to answer questions concerning alleged Communist Party affiliations. Last week the American Civil Liberties Union and the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice filed briefs in their behalf.

Eleven members of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, also convicted of contempt of Congress for refusing to give books and records of their organization to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, have petitioned for a reconsideration of an earlier court refusal to review their case.

POLITICS

PENNSYLVANIA

Explosive housewife

ON street corners in Philadelphia a slight, strawberry-blonde housewife who has never run for office before is drawing such crowds that seasoned politicians scratch heads and look worried.

Lillian R. Narins, Progressive Party candidate for the City Council seat vacated by the death of Republican Wallace Egan, has been campaigning from door to door since August. The Republicans and Democrats, split by internal dissensions, have not yet named their candidates. Ten thousand registered Democrats have signed PP petitions this year.

WHO'S GOP-ING? Philadelphia people know Mrs .Narins as a citizen who helped pass a municipal FEPC and establish day-care centers in the public schools, and who led a housewives' protest against meat and milk prices. These are the issues on which she is drawing the crowds in her City Council fight: unemployment (tripled in a year, now 125,000); police brutality, especially invasions of Negro homes and arrests without proper warrants; and bus and trolley fares, just increased for the third time in two years by addition of a 3½-5c transfer fee to the established 10c tariff. About 700,000 people use the transfer service every day.

The issues are explosive; explosions against Mrs. Narins are many and varied. From Richardson Dilworth, ADA chairman and Democratic candidate for City Treasurer, came a charge that the Progressive Party was collaborating with the Republicans. Henry A. Beitscher, Progressive Party director, challenged Dilworth to debate the issues and make clear his stand on them.

MINNESOTA

They want Brannan

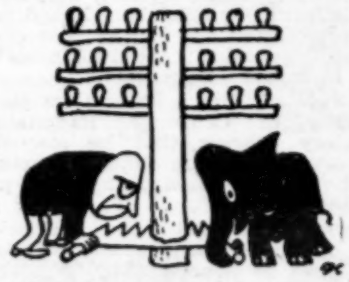
JAMES M. YOUNGDALE is a Minnesota farmer who gets around. A former Dept. of Agriculture economist, he is editor of the eastern Minnesota Public Affairs Committee publication **The Searchlight,** farm director of the Anti Sales Tax League, and four-year Navy veteran. Last year, as Democratic Farmer-Labor candidate for Congress with Progressive Party support, he came within 5,000 votes of defeating Republican incumbent H. Carl Andersen, whose record includes opposition to rural electrification, Triple A and farm security programs.

Last week Youngdale blasted the Republicans for 'their utter failure to produce any positive farm program," and entered the 1950 congressional race in Douglas County. A citizens' committee had called on him to run with the "united support of the liberal people of the district."

Battle lines in the election will be drawn around the Republican-sponsored Hope-Aiken Farm Act for which Andersen campaigned in Congress. The act, calling for 60% sliding parity with a floor on corn of 95c a bushel, goes into effect Jan. 1 unless Congress takes immediate action on more liberal proposals.

HE'S FOR IT: Youngdale's farm program runs along the lines of the Brannan proposals for a $1.40 floor on a corn bushel. At a recent House Agriculture Committee hearing in St. Paul, he called for "100% parity as the floor level for farm prices" and a "$3,000 minimum annual income guarantee for farm families." He called the Hope-Aiken Act "an attempt to drive 3,000,000 small farmers off the land."

Rank-and-file farmers rallied to the Democratic Party farm conference when it backed the Brannan Plan (although the Democrats later killed it in Congress). They fought for it even at the Republicans' farm conference which wound up opposing it.



NEW YORK

Will shouts elect?

IN Oneida County in upstate New York, 14 Democratic candidates for city, county and local offices have been endorsed by the American Labor Party. A fortnight ago Democratic Party state chairman Paul A. Fitzpatrick sent a telegram to county chairman J. Herbert Gilroy: "I insist that you, as county chairman, repudiate the (ALP) endorsement." The ALP, he charged, was "communist-controlled."

But Gilroy refused Fitzpatrick's demand; so did all the 14 candidates. "To my knowledge," said Gilroy, "there are no Communists in the ALP in Oneida County."

Dr. Frank J. Slater, county ALP chairman, said of Fitzpatrick's demand: "It seems they believe that whoever shouts 'Communist' the loudest has the better chance to win the vote of the New York State voters."

(Continued on following page)

United Nations Special

Greeks nailed in a lie on execution of union leader

Guardian UN Corespondence

LAKE SUCCESS

HUMAN lives were weighed in the scales against rules of procedure in UN's Political Committee last week. The rules got priority—but not before the callous dishonesty of the Greek Royalist government had been shown up in such a way as to shock many a fence-straddling delegate.

On Sept. 28 Polish delegate Katz-Suchy submitted a resolution appealing to the Greek government to suspend the death sentence of Catherine Zevgas, wife of EAM (left-wing resistance) leader John Zevgas, who was killed by Greek rightists in 1947. When Greek delegate Pipinellis said next day, Sept. 29, that his government had halted all death sentences pending review by the Amnesty Court, delegates felt the aim of the resolution had been attained.

All was quiet until Oct. 3, when Katz-Suchy asked why, despite the Greek promise of Sept. 29, Greek union leader Demosthenes Georgiu had been executed by a firing squad.

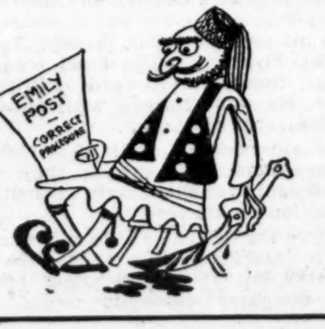
LIFE? LET'S ADJOURN: Obviously taken by surprise, Greek delegate Kyrou said the question was "out of order" since the committee was discussing the fate of the Italian colonies. Next day, when Byelorussian delegate Kisselev twice raised the question of Georgiu again, Dendramis and Pipinellis of Greece both said that Georgiu had been executed before the Sept. 29 announcement.

Dendramis accused Slav delegates of formulating "gratuitous insinuations" against Greece. Pipinellis appealed to Committee Chairman Lester Pearson of Canada to "protect" delegates against abuse from ill-mannered representatives. As the uproar grew, the chairman tried to restore order by invoking rules of procedure.

"Perhaps," said Soviet delegate Arutiunian, "rules of procedure are being violated. But human lives are at stake, and we cannot hide behind the rules of procedure the terror which is continuing." On a motion from U.S. delegate Jessup the meeting adjourned abruptly.

A LIE NAILED: Next morning chairman Pearson produced a written assurance from the Greek delegation that Georgiu had been executed before the Greek announcement of Sept. 29 concerning the suspension of sentences.

But that very morning Katz-Suchy had seen a Reuters dispatch from Athens in the airmail edition of the London **Times,** reporting under Sept. 30 dateline: "Demosthenes Georgiu . . . was executed here today. The Prime Minister, Mr. Diomedes, said tonight: 'The execution could not be prevented as the Government motion postponing executions . . . is not yet in force."



In other words, on the night of the 30th the Greek Premier himself had said the new ruling was not yet in effect, while Greek delegates at Lake Success made spoken and written declarations to the contrary.

"ON YOUR HEADS": To this disclosure of Greek Royalist lies and broken promises, the Polish delegate added the information that four more Communists had been executed after the announcement; and that Georgiu had tried to appeal to the UN, but his appeal never reached Lake Success because Greek jail officials intercepted it.

A move by Katz-Suchy to reopen discussion of the Greek question immediately was defeated 34-6, with 14 abstentions. Katz-Suchy's final statement was that the 34 who voted against his motion would bear responsibility for any executions that might take place.

•

THAT YUGOSLAV BID: Soviet delegates last week were lobbying intensively against Yugoslavia's bid for a Security Council seat. A split in the Latin American group was in the cards, it was learned: while the U.S. lobbied for Yugoslavia, Argentina was contemplating support of Czechoslovakia.

Top preoccupation of delegates, correspondents and staff members was the World Series.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Hiss: 2nd round

LAST July 8 the government's two-month trial of Alger Hiss on perjury charges ended in a hung jury. A few days later jurors Louise Torian and Louis Hill began to get anonymous phone calls and postcards saying "Drop dead," "Go back to Russia," "We'll get you soon."

For the public the case had become something of a personal combat between the pudgy Whittaker Chambers, late of **Time**, who had brought charges concerning a "communist apparatus" in the State Dept., and New Dealer Alger Hiss.

THE PERPLEXED FOUR: On the night of July 8, four jurors held a reasonable doubt that the government had proved Hiss a liar when he denied giving State Dept. documents to Chambers. The jury was dismissed; partisanship continued. The government announced it would try Hiss again. The court set the opening for Oct. 10.

Hiss's attorney last week asked that the trial be moved to Vermont for a "fair and impartial" atmosphere. The motion carried affidavits from the two threatened jurors, as well as tabulations showing New York newspaper coverage to have been so extensive and colorful that an unbiased juror would be hard to find.

WITCH-HUNTS

"X" wasn't there

"ONE of the physics professors told me some time ago that Joe drove them all crazy because he was so hipped on scientific accuracy. Every time one of them said anything Joe would say: 'It isn't according to science'."

That was the way a GUARDIAN correspondent on the University of Minnesota campus wrote of Dr. Joseph Weinberg of the physics faculty. Last week Dr. Weinberg had occasion to use his favorite phrase again. He called in Minneapolis reporters and told them the House Committee on Un-American Activities was going to name him as "Scientist X," charged with giving atomic secrets to the Russians during the war. Then he plugged the charge full of holes.

A DUD IS BORN: When the committee broke its news on the following day, it fell flat in Minneapolis. It didn't stand up very well elsewhere. Only inferentially was Dr. Weinberg linked to "X"; prosecution for perjury, not espionage, was asked; the FBI wasn't ready to report on the matter.

Dr. Weinberg has a letter from the University of California Radiation Laboratory proving that he started war work there more than a month after he was supposed to have given away the secrets.

University President James L. Morrill said Dr. Weinberg would not be fired unless he is accused by "regular legal procedure."

PROF. JOSEPH WEINBERG
[illegible] was most unscientific

BORDER PATROL

Liberals: Keep out!

LAST April Dr. Glenn Shortliffe, a Canadian educator, accepted an appointment as associate professor of French at Washington University in St. Louis, Mo.

He applied for a visa to the U.S., got it, resigned his post at Queens University at Kingston, Ontario, and sold his home.

Four days later his visa was revoked. Dr. Shortliffe belonged to the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, a mildly socialist political party which controls the Province of Saskatchewan and holds eight seats in the Canadian parliament. To the U.S. Immigration Service, his entry was therefore "deemed prejudicial to the public interests of the U.S."

DR. GLENN SHORTLIFFE
America is saved!

VIOLENCE TEST: U.S. vice consul Albert Stoffel grilled the professor about his political views. Would he swear he did not believe in violent overthrow of the government? Regarding himself as a "liberal socialist," Dr. Shortliffe took the oath.

But he still didn't get in and protests did no good. Prof. Herbert Dieckmann, head of Washington U. romance language dept., called it "a violation of academic freedom."

Last week, after five months, Dr. Shortliffe—now without either job or home—planned to go to France to study.

A SETTLED POLICY: Last Tuesday was the opening of the school year at Bryn Mawr College, where Dr. Barker Fairley, a professor at the University of Toronto, was scheduled to deliver a series of lectures. The same day college President Katherine E. McBride said the Fairley lectures were off. Immigration officials, without explanation, had barred the lecturer.

Dr. Fairley is a vice-president of the Canadian Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Last March when he came with his wife and theater director John Goss to attend the Cultural and Scientific Congress for World Peace in New York City, immigration officials grilled Fairley and packed Mrs. Fairley and Mr. Goss back to Canada.

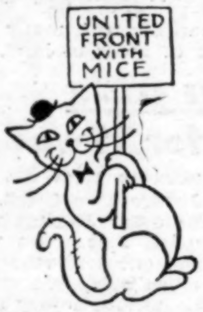
West Coast wire

Landlords form united front; Progressives push public works

By Gene Richards

LOS ANGELES

EMBATTLED landlords here last week adopted a united front slogan and a $150,000 campaign kitty as the first steps in trying to establish a cozy bond with their tenants for the purpose of raising their rents.



Ostensibly a suave community betterment program of the Apartment House Assn., the new Citizens' Fair Rent Committee was given its breath of life by AHA president James M. Udall at a mass meeting of hungry landlords.

IT'S WELFARE, FOLKS: Udall explained that the way to win the City Council and influence the Federal Area Rent Director was to dash right out and get 100,000 signatures for the "welfare of the whole community."

"And get your tenants to sign—they're MOST important," he begged. The audience laughed. But it stopped laughing when one member, overcome with "united front" zeal, proposed that tenants receive a pledge that no rents would be hoisted more than 10%. He was booed.

"Rent control," cried Jack Pierce, florid, whitehaired oldtimer on the AHA executive board, "is the first step to socialism. It's the most un-American thing ever foisted on us people. Oh, I wish I could give vent to my real feelings. God bless you . . . let's have decontrol now!"

Facing the job issue

While Republicans huffed and Democrats puffed, California's youthful Independent Progressive Party met in Fresno last week and blueprinted a $1,000,000,000 public works program to push for 1950.

From their two-day statewide meeting, delegates returned with initiative petitions to insure their project a place on the ballot as a measure against unemployment.

FILLING THE NEEDS: IPP Director Elinor Kahn said the program will call for outright grants to counties, cities and towns for "critical state needs for physical facilities, institutions, local utilities, libraries, recreation, etc."

Members of the state central committee also adopted a "concentration" policy in seeking congressional and state legislative posts in the coming election, scheduled an intensive registration drive and a state convention in Fresno for March.

Waterfront peace

Peace hovered over Pacific Coast waterfronts last week as the billion-dollar San Francisco Bay area warehouse industry settled its four-month strike with a 6c to 10c an hour pay increase and union leaders indicated agreement may be near in the Hawaiian longshore strike.

The same union was involved in both disputes—the tough CIO International Longshoremen and Warehousemen, which met employers' opposition to fourth-round pay raises with walkouts.

IT CAN BE DONE: The warehouse industry refused any pay increase four months ago and 6,000 warehousemen set up their picket lines. The settlement brought a number of contract improvements besides wage boosts, and was greeted at union headquarters as a "great victory."

RELIGION

EPISCOPALIANS

Too much plush

"THE Church may become a place for old women and plush-bottomed acolytes," warned the Rev. William H. Brady of Alton, Ill. Representatives of the Protestant Episcopal Church, assembled in convention at San Francisco, raised eyebrows but solemnly agreed that the long-standing rule against women deputies would hold.

The Rev. William Barnds of Lincoln, Neb., shuddered at the prospect of "dowager bishops" and in effect nailed to the convention's banner the motto: "For Men Only."

THEORETICALLY FOR PEACE: The House of Deputies (half clergy, half laymen) and House of Bishops had graver issues to consider. The House of Bishops demanded that the U.S. "make ceaseless efforts" to bring about a reconciliation with the Soviet Union. Church laymen went further in asking for "an international order limiting national sovereignty and world law binding on both nations and individuals for the maintenance of just and enduring peace."

A round lost

"It is interesting to see," commented Rev. William Howard Melish, "that the House of Bishops is in principle approving the very thing for which we are criticized."

He referred to attacks leveled against him for serving on the board of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. He was dismissed as assistant rector of Holy Trinity Church in Brooklyn. Also dismissed was his father, Rev. John Howard Melish, the rector. He was charged with condoning his son's affiliation.

The elder Melish, 74, had served his congregation for 45 years; they supported him overwhelmingly against the opposition of the vestry.

Before the delegates at San Francisco was a resolution giving power to the congregation to retain their rector. The delegates voted it down. The younger Melish said the congregation "will go on fighting."

BISHOP SCARLETT
Piety is not enough

HOW TO LEAD: Racial discrimination was denounced by Bishop William Scarlett of Missouri. Without referring specifically to the Soviet Union, he said that the U.S. was competing for world leadership with "another great power" which has "at least got rid of discrimination based solely on the color of a man's skin." The Bishop added that U.S. hopes of world leadership were "doomed" unless its people rid themselves of their "lingering contempt" for the Negro, and that "vague generalities" and "pious aspirations for brotherhood" are no longer enough.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Buying a new coat

FROM now on, consumers will be subjected to intense sales pressure as retailers launch fall coat promotions. Prices are lower. But don't hurry to buy if you want maximum value.

First cut-price sales start Columbus Day (Oct. 12) and reductions are even sharper in the Armistice Day specials. Nor is there any great likelihood that price tags on wool garments will start going up again, as those on cottons and rayons are threatening to do.

DOUBLE DUTY: Each year more men and women come to realize the best buy is a zip-lined coat which can be worn both fall and winter.

However, avoid gabardine zip coats this year. They're still overpriced because of the world shortage of fine wools required for gabardine and the keen demand. Money-saving alternatives are covert and tweed, both warmer and easier to press.

In moderate climates a wool liner is generally satisfactory, but women who live in cold areas can also buy zip coats with rabbit-fur or plush liners for only about $2 more. If you do get a rabbit lining, make sure it is split under the arm to make it less bulky.

AVOID COLOR FADS: A woman who wants the most use from a new coat will avoid the high fashion colors the style people spring each year. Not only will such specialized shades reveal next year that you're wearing last year's coat, but they compel a woman to buy extra shoes, gloves, handbags and other accessories.

Perhaps more than any other color, gray is most useful for a coat (for either sex) because it can go with most other colors. Black, brown and navy blue are other good basic colors.

DON'T GET TRIMMED: From every point of view, an untrimmed coat is preferable to a fur-trimmed one. You not only get better material and construction for the same money, but a more versatile coat that lends itself to variety through the use of accessories. Even zip-lined coats are now being tricked up with fur collars—a manufacturer's device for keeping prices up when his own costs have been reduced and consumers expect more value.

The trade is also briskly promoting fitted coats. Well they know that they won't fit over a suit and are often unsatisfactory for casual wear, so a woman must then buy two coats, or even three. But a smart woman will buy a boxy coat that can be worn over suits as well as dresses.

Proportion of nylon — rayon

IT WAS previously pointed out that a blend of nylon and acetate rayon is not only less expensive than all-nylon, but is preferable for lingerie. Acetate rayon has a degree of perspiration absorbency that nylon doesn't. Textile experts point out, however, that some of the acetate-and-nylon slips and blouses on the market, with as little as 8% nylon, might well be all-rayon. A garment needs at least 40% nylon yarn to have any of its important characteristics.

In buying rayon or nylon clothing, it's important to get it roomy enough. Neither—and particularly nylon—is as resilient as silk. Rayon and nylon garments must also have a large allowance for seams, and reinforced seams, because both these fibers tend to slip.

Money-saving private brands

FROM time to time this department has told readers about private brands of merchandise sold by various retailers which are really "name" brands at significantly lower prices. Now it is learned that the **Shawmut** brand overshoes and rubbers sold by some mail-order houses and shoe chains are really the famous **Hood** brand at a lower price. Authority for this information is the Federal Trade Commission. The two brands are "of like grade and quality."

It has also been learned, from other sources, that the Sears Roebuck **Silvertone** portable television set (seven-inch screen) at $150 in the catalog is made by **Tele-Tone** and is similar to a set of comparable specifications sold under the latter name at a higher price. This particular set is a so-called "metropolitan" receiver; that is, good reception is generally assured only within 15-20 miles of a TV station.

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Other people's ideas

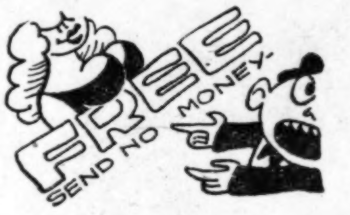
Don't take dope between covers

By Sebastian Barr

WE Americans are supposed to be a shrewd people who always look a gift horse in the mouth and never expect something for nothing. But nobody would think so, to judge from the advertisements of some of our larger mail-order book-selling outfits.

We've all seen the ads in the newspapers and magazines. "FREE," they scream. "TWO BOOKS FREE." "ALL SIX FREE." "SEND NO MONEY." In fact, one must assume that these people wouldn't know what to do with money if you were foolish enough to send it. Probably bury it in Fort Knox.

The ads tell you that these books are often about very bosomy dames in various stages of undress. All this and heaven, too!



WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE? Several years ago a number of pulp magazines were banned from newsstands because of "lewd and lascivious" illustrations. I fail to see any difference between such trash and some of the high-powered book club ads.

William Miller tells what's happening to books and writers and publishers under the stranglehold of our market economy in his recent report on **The Book Industry.** He shows how more and more publishers, lured by big money from serial rights, book club rights, reprint rights, movie sales, etc., are looking for the "sure thing," the quickie, the one-shot that will bring fat dividends. They have become packagers, merchandisers, rather than publishers in the creative sense.

POISON FILTERS DOWN: This attitude of the top business men naturally infects the editors under them; they know it is sales, not literature, they are expected to produce. And the editors' attitude, in turn, infects the authors, who are just as anxious as the next man to earn a fast buck.

This is the way that the people's literature—and to whom else does literature belong?—can die of dry rot.

Perhaps we should not be too pessimistic. After all, some good books do continue to get written and published. But one cannot help being appalled at the thought of millions of people turning for sustenance from radio to television, from magazines to movies, from hard-cover books to reprints, and finding everywhere the standard ersatz pap that couldn't nourish a moron.

OLD DOPE GAME: It's the old game. First you feed the people dope and make them addicts. Then you say, hopelessly: "What can we do? The people want dope." The big boys who own the channels of communication have it down to a system.

It is the ambition of this column to fight in the anti-dope crusade. Progressives have a cultural obligation to the people just as important as their political responsibility. Culturally, as well as politically, we must expose and combat the market economy that degrades and falsifies and exploits the living and the dead.

Pots & Pocketbooks

It's corny — but good

By Charlotte Parks

THERE are more Indians in America today than there were when Columbus landed. The Indians just had a great powwow in Oklahoma to let their white brothers know the economic spot they are in right now—and a bad spot it is.

As we listened to the Indians on the radio, we thought of the first Thanksgiving, when the Indians brought turkeys, deer and corn to the Pilgrims and the ladies of the First Church of Plymouth were taught by the squaws of the Grand Pequot Lodge how to cook that finest of American dishes, succotash.

FLAVOR EXPERTS: The Indian women were good cooks and knew how to combine flavors. They made their succotash of deer meat, beans and corn, delicately flavored with maple sugar. The version favored by the Pilgrim women can be varied to suit what you have on hand.

1 can corn; or corn cut off the cob
1 can lima or navy beans
1 cup chopped ham
1 tsp. sugar
1 tbsp. margarine
1 tbsp. flour
1½ cups milk
2 tbsp. chopped fresh pepper

Marian Harland, cooking authority of our grandmother's days, says that one-third more corn should be used than beans. You may omit the meat and pepper and still have a mouth-watering dish.

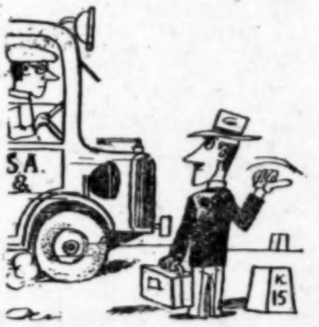
FRIED CORN: Corn cut off the cob and delicately fried in margarine or bacon fat is an appealing vegetable. Half corn and half cold boiled potatoes, browned and sprinkled with chopped parsley and a shake of paprika, will be a permanent addition to your cooking file.

Scrapple

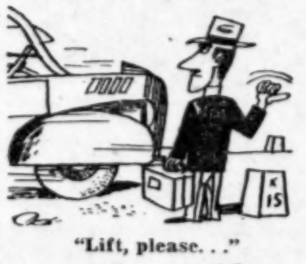
This is also a gift from the Indians.

1 cup chopped cooked pork
water and broth or cubes to make 1 qt.
1½ cups cornmeal
½ tsp. sage
½ tsp. red pepper
1 tsp. salt

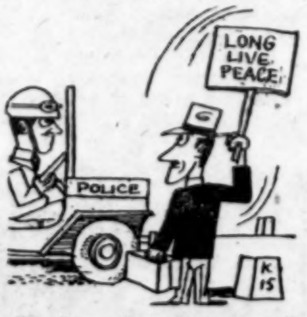
Pour cornmeal into boiling water while stirring vigorously. Finish cooking in double boiler. Rinse breadpan with cold water. Pour in hot scrapple and let stand till cold and firm, then cut in half-inch slices. Dust with flour and fry to a crisp brown. A good meat substitute. (This dish so delighted Lafayette that Martha Washington wrote out the recipe and sent it to Madame Lafayette.)



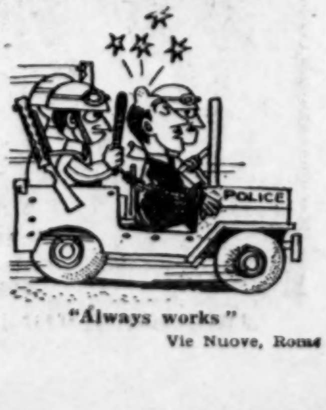
"Will you give a lift, please?"



"Lift, please. . ."



"Perhaps this will help . . ."



"Always works"

Vie Nuove, Roma

Working America gets together for peace

By Rod Holmgren

CHICAGO

HOW do you get peace? That was the question taken to Chicago Oct. 1-2 by 1,245 delegates to the National Labor Conference for Peace. They were rank-and-filers, local officers, shop stewards. They came from 28 states, from AFL, CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods, independent unions.

Each delegate had to have at least 25 supporters back home to get credentials; most of them had far more, even in the unions whose national leaders back the Atlantic Pact, Marshall Plan and arms for Europe.

REPORTS FROM HOME: With no time to waste, eating pick-up meals at their tables, the delegates heard men and women tell how the cold war and hysteria were making conditions worse in the plants and mines.

From CIO Marine Cooks & Stewards: "A quarter of our members on the Pacific Coast are on the beach."

From Connecticut: "Big orders for eastern European tractors were canceled; we have shutdowns and rusting tractors."

From a Chicago warehouseman: "Wartime gains of the Negroes are being rapidly wiped out."

From an AFL woman: "The propaganda of 'women's place is in the home' is being spread to justify putting women out of industry."

As they worked, delegates caught glimpses of current headlines; reaction to Russia's atomic explosion and the beginning of the steel strike set up a framework for their thinking. The conference heartily endorsed a resolution which said: "The fight of the steel workers will affect all workers in all industries in their struggle for a much-needed and justifiable fourth round of wage increases, insurance and pensions."

PROGRESS, NOT WAR: International control of the atom became a cardinal point for the developing peace program.

Henry Wallace told an intent crowd of 3,000 at a night mass meeting: "You can't have a cold war and have social progress too." He demanded action by the U.S., Soviet Union and the UN "to lift the veil of fear that has haunted mankind."

Paul Robeson and Rep. Vito Marcantonio told why peace had to be won and how to fight for it. Then the delegates sent letters to CIO President Philip Murray and AFL President William Green: "This is the time. . . . It is not too late to unite labor in the fight for peace."

PROGRAM TO WORK FOR: The letters carried a program: U.S.-Soviet conferences to settle outstanding differences; UN action to outlaw atomic warfare and bring about disarmament; defense of civil and minority rights; adoption of economic policies to promote international peace and well-being.

Tired shop leaders went home to start a broad labor campaign for peace. In Chicago they left a new headquarters for the Committee of 150, which will coordinate and direct the work.

TIVE BARGAINING FOR PEACE

There were very few international union officials at the National Labor Conference for Peace. Most delegates were rank-and-filers—men and women, young and old. They are pictured above at the mass meeting at which Henry Wallace spoke.

Edward Bolovowicz attended the conference on behalf of his fellow-workers in the CIO Fur, Leather & Luggage Workers Union in Milwaukee. They had told him to get in the fight for peace; he is shown as he told the Chicago delegates how the cold war is hurting his sector of labor.

Pictures by Mickey Pallas

DEMOCRACY
PEACE
TAFT-HARTLE

The rising tide of mob violence, exemplified by the attacks on Paul Robeson's audiences at Peekskill, had an important place on the Chicago agenda. Robeson is shown above as he received a tribute from the delegates for his fight against war and fascism.

The conference was grassroots from start to finish. Of the 1,245 delegates, 247 were shop stewards and committeemen, 210 were local union officers. The rest were rank-and-file members. The three rank-and-filers above took the microphone in turn to talk about peace.

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